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Further Correspondence respecting Turkey

PART XVI.

[E 3319/14/44] No. 1.

Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to Foreign Office.—(Received July 2.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 25, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have had a short statement prepared showing the decisions and the questions involved in cases which have been heard before the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal during the period September 1927 to the present time.

It has occurred to me that you may care to have a copy for your information.

Copies of the actual judgments have been sent to the Treasury Solicitor.

It will be seen from the attached list that within the last year the following decisions have been given:—

(1.) All claims of deportees to Malta have been either rejected by the Tribunal or withdrawn by the claimants themselves.

(2.) Abstract rights and cash assets do not come within article 65 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Previous decisions confirmed and amplified.

(3.) Debts arising out of pre-war contracts come within article 78 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

(4.) Immovable properties are restored if ownership is proved by title deeds, cadastral registration or other evidence based on official documents. Testimonial evidence is not considered to be sufficient for proving ownership of immovable properties.

(5.) An expropriation of property may be considered to be an exceptional war measure. But if this expropriation has been made *bonâ fide*, for reasons of public utility, such as the widening of streets, and without discrimination as to the nationality of the owners, the Tribunal is not competent to reverse the decision.

(6.) Regarding properties situated in the burnt area of Smyrna, which have been expropriated by a special law passed in 1925, the Tribunal held that its competence is limited to measures taken during the period running between the outbreak of war and the coming into force of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Three Cypriot claims which should have been taken up before the summer vacation have been postponed until next term owing to the illness of the British member.

I have, &c.
R. C. OWEN-WELLS, *British Agent,*
Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

Enclosure in No. 1.

STATEMENT showing Decisions and Questions involved in Cases heard by Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

Tribunal No.	Claimant.	Defendant.	Object.	Amount Claimed.	Hearing.	Judgment delivered.	Result from British point of view.	Observations.
181	Edjzadji Mehmed Bey ..	British Government	Return of a bag and a valise	..	..	Oct. 10, 1927	..	In accordance with judgment delivered on June 29, 1927, the British Government delivered to claimant his bag and valise. Dispute definitely settled.
256	Heirs of Mahmoud Kiamil Pasha	British Government	Deportee to Malta. Expenses and indemnity	£ stg. 5,390	..	Oct. 10, 1927	..	Claim withdrawn.
390	Turkish Government ..	Hadfield's (Ltd.) ..	Pre-war contract	£ stg. 13,253 6s. 8d. and £ T. 100,000 gold	..	Oct. 10, 1927	..	Tribunal orders the joinder of the two cases.
68	Hadfield's (Ltd.) ..	Turkish Government						
161	Chirket Hairié	R. W. Hawthorn .. Leslie and Co. (Ltd.) and Lloyd's Bank	Pre-war contract ..	£ stg. 16,500	..	Oct. 10, 1927	..	Case settled by direct agreement between parties concerned. Defendant paid to claimant £ stg. 9,871 17s. 6d.
212	Alfred H. Midwood and Co. (Ltd.)	Constantine Calfopoulos	Debts arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 107 16s. 4d. and interest	..	Nov. 7, 1927	..	Tribunal orders defendant to produce evidence as to his partnership with his late father and requests Turkish agent to furnish information as to whether defendant inherited from his father a house and the contents of a safe in the Deutsche Orient Bank.
45	N. N. Berouti	Turkish Government	Coal and other goods seized at Jaffa	£ stg. 28,140 and interest	Nov. 5, 1927	Dec. 14, 1927	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Claimant has not proved his quality of British-protected person. Goods requisitioned; and as they do not exist any more, claimant has no right to proceeds of liquidation.
168	John X. Alexakis (ex British vice-consul at Scala Nuova)	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties of Scala Nuova	.. ..	..	Dec. 28, 1927	Lost	Claimant being a British-protected person of Greek nationality, the tribunal held itself incompetent to deal with the claim of a national of one of the Allied Powers (article 64, paragraph 3).
169	Mrs. Efrosini Alexakis ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Sokia	£ T. 2,850	..	Dec. 28, 1927	Lost	Tribunal incompetent as in case No. 168 (John X. Alexakis).
64	Eastern Bank (Ltd.) ..	Turkish Government	Compialas and goods seized at Bagdad	£ stg. 86,581 8s. 6d. and interest	Nov. 1, 1927	Dec. 28, 1927	Lost	Tribunal incompetent (article 65); does not apply to cash assets, but only to properties, rights and interests which still exist and can be identified
71	Ransomes, Sim and Jefferies (Ltd.)	Turkish Government	Return of guarantee on pre-war contract with the Vilayet of Adrianople	£ T. 9,500	..	Dec. 28, 1927	..	Orders the Turkish agent to furnish information as to the Turkish law on the organisation and financial status of vilayets.
104	Mrs. Rose Dicran Stephen	Turkish Government	Restitution of a depot in Smyrna	..	..	Jan. 4, 1928	..	Tribunal orders the Turkish agent to furnish information as to the alleged measures taken in respect of this property by the municipality of Smyrna.
105	Dicran Stephen.. ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house and two shops in Smyrna	..	..	Jan. 4, 1928	..	Tribunal orders the Turkish agent to furnish information as to the alleged measures taken in respect of these properties by the municipalities of Smyrna.
407	Houstafa Abdulhalik Bey	British Government ..	Deportee to Malta. Indemnity and restitution of various documents and a Koran	£ stg. 9,420	..	Jan. 4, 1928	..	Tribunal orders the British agent to inform the court whether the documents and the Koran have been traced.
399	Miss Sarah Bottomley ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of land at Cocaryali (Smyrna)	£ T. 350 gold	..	Jan. 11, 1928	..	Tribunal orders the Turkish agent to invite the cadastral authorities to state whether the property was transferred to the claimant by the former owner in 1914.
407	Moustafa Abdulhalik Bey	British Government ..	Deportee to Malta. Indemnity and restitution of various documents and a Koran	£ stg. 9,420	..	Jan. 25, 1928	Won	Tribunal incompetent by application of article 135, paragraph 1.
224	Mehmet Izzet Bey ..	British Government ..	Restitution of bail alleged to have been deposited in 1921 for claimant's son	£ T. 1,200 gold and jewellery	Jan. 4, 1928	Jan. 25, 1928	Won	Tribunal incompetent by application of article 137, paragraph 1.
62	David Sassoon and Co. (Ltd.)	Turkish Government	Restitution of compialas and goods seized in Bagdad	£ stg. 27,120 12s.	..	Jan. 25, 1928	Won	The only question before the court was whether the tribunal could hear a claim which had not been previously lodged with the competent authorities as provided by article 70. Tribunal decided that it is competent and allowed forty-five days for the defence on the merits.
215	Alfred Midwood and Co. (Ltd.)	Jean Platon Joannidès	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 51 3s. 10d.	..	Jan. 25, 1928	Won	Defendant condemned to pay to claimant £ stg. 51 3s. 10d. plus 5 per cent. interest from October 16, 1926, to day of payment and £ T. 25 costs (article 78)

Tribunal No.	Claimant	Defendant	Object	Amount Claimed	Hearing	Judgment	Result from British point of view	Observations
212	Alfred Midwood and Co. (Ltd.)	Constantin Calfopoulos	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 92 4s. 8d.	Feb. 11, 1928	Jan. 25, 1928	Lost	Tribunal held that the debt was incurred by the late father of the claimant, who is not responsible for it. Claim dismissed with costs.
213	Alfred Midwood and Co. (Ltd.)	Chambres Hadjopoulos	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 308 8s. 2d.	..	Jan. 25, 1928	Won	Defendant condemned to pay to claimant £ stg. 308 8s. 2d. plus 5 per cent. interest from October 16, 1926, to day of payment and £ T. 25 costs (article 78).
214	Alfred Midwood and Co. (Ltd.)	Garabet Arabian ..	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 107 16s.	Jan. 11, 1928	Jan. 25, 1928	Lost	Claim dismissed on the ground that defendant was under the impression that the goods were sold to him by M. Economidès and the claimant failed to prove that the latter was acting as their agent.
93	Sylvestro Eliol	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of land in Smyrna	..	Jan. 25, 1928	Mar. 7, 1928	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to his British nationality.
39	Barrington Tristram ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of land in Smyrna	..	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence, orders the continuation of the proceedings on the merits by way of production of evidence as to the expropriation of the property and as to the judgment previously given by a Turkish court on this matter.
103	Miss Catherine Vafea ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of eight properties in Smyrna	£ stg. 7,000	Jan. 25, 1928	Mar. 7, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence. Five of the properties having been identified. Turkish Government is ordered to report within thirty days as to the remaining three. Judgment as to merits reserved.
48	Mrs. Fortunée Gubbay ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of property at Aleppo	..	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Lost	Case dismissed. Property situated in a territory detached from Turkey; therefore Turkish Government cannot be held responsible for its restitution.
50	Mrs. Pauline Dwek ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of property at Aleppo	..	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Lost	Case dismissed. Property situated in a territory detached from Turkey; therefore Turkish Government cannot be held responsible for its restitution.
75	Matthew Rankin ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of nine properties and machinery in Smyrna and damages	..	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Won partially	Tribunal orders the restitution of the nine properties; dismisses the claim for damages; orders the production of further evidence as to the machinery.
71	Ransomes, Sim and Jefferies (Ltd.)	Turkish Government	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ T. 16,818	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Lost	Case dismissed. Contract was entered upon with the vilayets of Adrianople, which is to be a moral person separate from the Turkish Government.
260	Marconi's Wireless Telegraphy Company (Ltd.)	Turkish Government	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 1,807 1s. 5d.	..	Mar. 7, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence and orders the continuation of the proceedings on the merits of the case.
183	Jewish Colonisation Association	Turkish Government	Restitution of two farms in Panderma and Siliviri	£ stg. 10,787 5s. 3d.	..	Mar. 14, 1928	..	Claim withdrawn.
441	Hourchid Zade Hassan Talaat	British Government	Arrested during armistice. Furniture looted at Mudania	£ T. 25,000	..	Mar. 14, 1928	..	Claim withdrawn.
354	E. Posselt and Co ..	Gryzagorides Frères	Debt arising out of pre-war contract	£ stg. 66 4s. 6d.	..	May 9, 1928	Won	Defendant condemned to pay to claimants £ stg. 66 4s. 6d. plus 5 per cent. interest from October 18, 1926, to the day of payment.
385	Turkish Government ..	Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. (Ltd.) and Vickers (Ltd.)	Restitution of money paid on pre-war contract	£ stg. 2,000	..	May 9, 1928	..	Claim withdrawn. Defendants paid to claimant £ stg. 2,000.
167	Irma and Amy Joly ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of property at Hadjilar (Smyrna)	£ stg. 3,969	May 2, 1928	May 23, 1928	Won	Tribunal competent. Proofs of existence of property admitted. Turkish agent invited to produce cadastral inscription.
123	Sophie Albon	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house in Smyrna	..	..	May 7, 1928	..	Claim withdrawn. Property restored to claimant.
12	Essad Pasha	British Government..	Deportee to Malta. Indemnity and damages	£ stg. 15,000	..	May 23, 1928	..	Claim withdrawn.
415	Anna Georgiades	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Geuz-Tépé (Smyrna)	..	..	May 28, 1928	..	Tribunal invites the Turkish agent to produce extract of the cadastre register.
143	John C. Georgiades ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties in Smyrna	..	..	May 28, 1928	..	Tribunal invites the Turkish agent to produce extract of the cadastre register.
19	Djelal Bey	British Government.	Restitution of 265 liras gold deposited with Deutsche Palestine Bank	£ T. 265 gold and interest	Mar. 5, 1928	June 9, 1928	Won	Tribunal incompetent. Cash assets deposited with a bank are not considered to be within the meaning of the term "property, rights and interests" as limited by article 65.
104	Mrs. Rose Doran Stephen	Turkish Government	Restitution of property in the burnt area of Smyrna	..	..	June 13, 1928	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Property expropriated by the law of April 22, 1925, after the coming into force of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Tribunal No.	Claimant.	Defendant.	Object.	Amount Claimed.	Hearing.	Judgment delivered.	Result from British point of view.	Observations.
103	Dicran Stephen ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house and two shops in the burnt area of Smyrna	..	..	June 13, 1928	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Properties expropriated by the law of April 22, 1925, after the coming into force of the Treaty of Lausanne.
182	Reginald La Fontaine Whittall	Turkish Government	Restitution of five mines in Zongouldak	Plus £T 345,000 damages	Apr. 21, 1928	June 13, 1928	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Permits of exploitation of coal mines considered to be concessions (articles 73, 77, 78).
89	John George Pisani ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties in Kerasunda of various sums collected by defendant and mortgages	£ stg. 78,000	Apr. 16, 1928	June 13, 1928	Lost partially	Tribunal incompetent for restitution of properties expropriated *bona fide* for reasons of public utility. Defendant ordered to restore to claimant £T. 2,894 collected from various sources. Claim for mortgages rejected for lack of evidence.
103	Miss Catherine Vafea ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of eight properties at Bendja (Smyrna)	£ stg. 7,000	Jan. 25, 1926	June 23, 1928	Won partially	Tribunal orders the restitution of five of the properties and dismisses the claim as to the other three for lack of evidence as to ownership.
116	D. A. Xenos	Turkish Government	Restitution of nine properties at Seridikeuy (Smyrna)	..	..	June 23, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence on the nationality of the claimant and on article 70, and orders that proceedings should continue on the merits.
119	Mrs. Sophie Coomba ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house at Bayrakli (Smyrna)	..	..	June 23, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence on the nationality of the claimant and on article 70, and orders the Turkish agent to produce the extract of the cadastral registration of the property.
160	Mrs. Louisa G. Yerkova ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a property in Smyrna	..	..	June 23, 1928	Won	Tribunal rejects the plea of incompetence on the nationality of the claimant and on article 70, and orders the Turkish agent to produce the extract of the cadastral registration of the property.

[E 3313/128/44] No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 2.)

(No. 312.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 26, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 239 of the 16th May, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a proclamation recently issued by the Inspector-General of the Eastern Vilayets with particular reference to the amnesty declared by the Turkish Government as a result of the law voted on the 9th May.

2. This proclamation would at any time be interesting reading, but it is particularly so now when, as for months past, the outsider is not allowed to glean any tidings as to what is happening east of the Euphrates, for it shows that things are not going as well as they should. The amnesty has obviously not been a great success, almost certainly only a minority of the Kurds transferred to Western Anatolia have, in fact, been re-established in their former homes, and honeyed words are required to encourage the reluctant to submit to the governing authority. The latter has, however, the surprising candour to admit in such a document that any backsliding in the future on the part of the "amnestied" will meet with a punishment corresponding with the magnitude of the offence which is now being pardoned. In face of such an utterance, the future does not inspire confidence, and it is, therefore, hardly surprising that the Minister of the Interior is at last about to make his promised tour in the eastern vilayets in order to take stock of the situation for himself.

3. I have sent a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 2.

Aux Vilayets orientaux : Une nouvelle Proclamation d'Ibrahim Taly Bey.

(Traduction.)

L'INSPECTEUR GÉNÉRAL des vilayets orientaux, Ibrahim Taly Bey, a adressé à la population le manifeste suivant :

"Honorables compatriotes !

"La République turque, qui n'a d'autre but que de voir les habitants du pays vaquant paisiblement à leurs affaires, sans chercher à attenter à l'honneur, aux biens et à la vie de ses concitoyens, et former ainsi des foyers heureux et prospères, avait fourni dans sa magnanimité l'occasion aux victimes de l'ignorance et de la naïveté de rentrer dans leurs foyers et de mener une vie paisible et travailleuse.

"Les personnes qui avaient été transférées dans les provinces occidentales sont rentrées dans leurs foyers. Ces personnes continuent à jouir paisiblement de tous les droits et libertés civiques en accomplissant leurs devoirs de citoyens.

"La République turque a décidé, par la promulgation de la loi en date du 9 mai 1928, de ne pas exercer des poursuites contre les personnes responsables d'actes répréhensibles commis durant la période où l'état de siège était proclamé dans ces régions. Les détenus ont été mis en liberté et les coupables qui ont demandé l'aman jouissent actuellement de tous les droits et libertés qui sont l'apanage de leurs concitoyens et vivent en toute liberté.

"En donnant une plus grande extension à la portée de la loi qu'elle avait promulguée à la date du 9 mai 1928, le Gouvernement républicain a publié une autre loi pour la cessation de toute poursuite contre les auteurs de tous les actes répréhensibles commis jusqu'à la date du 30 mai 1928 qui se seraient livrés aux autorités en se rapportant à leur clémence. Par cette loi, notre Gouvernement a voulu prouver son extrême sollicitude et magnanimité envers tous les enfants de la patrie.

"Chers compatriotes,

"Le délai accordé par le Gouvernement pour le pardon de tous ces actes répréhensibles est de trois mois à partir de la date du 14 mai 1928. J'invite par cette proclamation ceux de mes compatriotes qui ne se sont pas encore livrés aux autorités compétentes de s'empresser de profiter de cette occasion pour rejoindre

leurs familles, leurs femmes et enfants, qui les attendent en menant une vie tranquille et en vaquant à leurs affaires et occupations.

"Il importe que tout le monde soit fermement persuadé qu'en obéissant aux ordres du Gouvernement nul ne sera injustement appréhendé, jeté en prison ni puni d'une façon quelconque. Mais il faut qu'on sache aussi que le châtiment pour la moindre désobéissance aux lois sera augmenté en prenant en considération les fautes et actes précédemment commis et pardonnés.

"Tous mes compatriotes doivent s'empresser de profiter de cette nouvelle preuve de magnanimité de notre Gouvernement en s'adressant aux autorités pour régulariser leur situation dans les registres de l'état civil. Ils doivent accomplir les formalités nécessaires pour le classement des dossiers en cours d'examen auprès des tribunaux ou chez les juges d'instruction et cela pour qu'ils puissent complètement se réhabiliter et vivre le front haut et honorablement parmi leurs autres concitoyens.

"On n'a rien à gagner en détruisant sa vie, en ruinant son foyer. Des actes de ce genre ne sont pas dignes d'hommes braves et chevaleresques. Le devoir d[5] tout citoyen turc consiste à léguer à sa famille et à ses enfants le nom et l[6] souvenir d'un chef digne et respecté et cela en rendant des services utiles à sa patrie, à la nation turque.

"Ainsi, au lieu de servir d'instrument aux intrigues d'individus intéressés, tâchez de vous enrichir, de posséder des champs de culture et des logements et de rendre votre famille et vos enfants heureux et prospères. L'action la plus digne qu'un homme puisse accomplir dans ce monde ne consiste pas à ruiner ce qui existe, mais à créer et à bâtir ce qui n'existe pas.

"L'Inspecteur général,

"IBRAHIM TALY."

[E 3314/1223/44] No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 2.)

(No. 315.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 27, 1928.*

A SOLUTION now appears happily to have been reached of a dispute which for some weeks has been threatening to create serious discord in the Turkish-Greek community of Constantinople, and to raise in an acute form the right of the Greek minority to manage and control their own religious and other institutions.

2. As you are aware, the Turkish delegation at Lausanne only agreed to the maintenance of the Œcumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople on the express condition that the administration of the churches and schools was handed over to the Greek community. Since that time such administration has been vested in local and central committees or ephories which are elected by the community for periods of two years. The ephory of Pera, consisting of forty-four local and six central members, had to be filled by election two months ago. According to Greek sources, on election day the local representative of the People's party and other local functionaries appeared at the Panaghia Church where the voting was taking place, and claimed that they were supervising the elections. Actually, it appears that they were present as a cover to certain malcontents of the community who were believed to be in league with Papa Eftim, the Anatolian priest (see Mr. Henderson's despatch No. 821 of the 11th December, 1923), who still controls the two Galata churches which he seized in 1924 and 1926. These malcontents put up two of their number as candidates, and this action, coupled with the Turkish control, so incensed the Greek community that many refused to vote as a protest against the irregularity of the proceedings. But this was not all, for in the evening the police apparently announced that, as voting had not been completed, it should be continued next day. The ballot boxes were thereupon removed to the local police station for the night, during which time further irregularities are alleged to have occurred, and brought back next day, when the voting was completed. The count showed that the two malcontents along with forty-eight others had been duly elected and was forthwith notified to the Vali, who confirmed the election.

3. The result created instant tumult in the Greek community, the appearance on the scene of Papa Eftim was momentarily expected, and the forty-eight, declaring themselves unable to work with "the two," resigned. A deputation went to see the

Vali, and asked that the election should be annulled. That functionary declared the election to have been in order and said he would refer to Angora. Meantime, on the occasion of every service at the Panaghia Church "the two" appeared and sought to perform the duties appertaining to the central ephors. In this they were frustrated by the congregation, consisting mostly of women, and free fights occurred every Friday and Sunday which only ended with the appearance on the scene of the police. "The two" did, however, succeed by dint of forcing the locks in establishing themselves in the central offices, though all efforts to induce the former central committee to hand over registers, documents, cash and safe keys were stoutly and successfully resisted.

4. Such was the position when a fortnight ago an official of the Œcumenical Patriarchate discussed the matter with a member of my staff. That official, who was emphatic that the patriarchate was loyally abiding by its engagements and taking no active part in the matter, was firmly convinced that the Turkish authorities were privy to the activities of Papa Eftim's friends, but felt certain that if only the community remained united—a condition very difficult of fulfilment among the Greeks of Constantinople, especially since 1923—things would straighten themselves out satisfactorily, as the Turks would be unable to challenge a united community on such an issue.

5. In the event his optimism has been justified, for last week the forty-eight ephors repented of their hasty and ill-advised decision to resign, and withdrew their resignations. The result was that on Friday and Sunday last the new ephors, with the two malcontents, were in their places and the services passed off without incident. Thus seems to have been averted something which might have developed into an important issue, and it is to be hoped that it will be a lesson to the Turks not to meddle in matters which are by treaty withdrawn from their control and more particularly, as the Turks are probably incapable of learning such a lesson, to the Greek community of Constantinople that union is strength.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3341/43/44] No. 4.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 3.)

(No. 253.)

Sir, *Athens, June 15, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to Constantinople despatch No. 276 of the 6th June, copy of which His Majesty's Ambassador was so good as to send me direct, to inform you that the signature of the Italo-Turkish pact, having been discounted, was received here quietly.

2. There can, I think, be no doubt that the prospect of the immediate return to power of M. Veniselos, which at several moments during the Greek Cabinet crisis, which lasted from the 18th May to the 28th May, appeared highly probable, gave a set-back to the Græco-Turkish discussions. It is, indeed, only natural that in Turkey the return of M. Veniselos to power should inspire misgivings similar to those which the election of Marshal von Hindenburg to the presidency of the German Reich aroused for a time in some of the Allied States. My Turkish colleague has, in private and confidential conversation with me, confirmed this opinion. Djevad Bey added, however, that the douche need only be a temporary one, and that Turkey did not necessarily view with alarm the return to power of M. Veniselos. The latter was supple enough to perceive the undesirability of his own person becoming a stumbling-block in the way of a Græco-Turkish rapprochement, and in an interview with the correspondent of "Milliet," which Djevad Bey had himself arranged, M. Veniselos had already given assurances of his solidarity with the foreign policy followed by M. Michalacopoulos, which had been welcomed in Turkish official circles and had been useful in allaying anxiety.

3. It is clear from this and from what is recorded by Sir George Clerk in the same connexion that there is no desire on the Turkish side to make the possible return of M. Veniselos a pretext for shelving the discussions with Greece, and it may be inferred from Djevad Bey's language to me that M. Veniselos is himself persuaded of the desirability of pursuing them.

4. The intrinsic difficulties which have so far blocked the road to agreement still remain, but if the discussions continue, as both M. Michalacopoulos and the Turkish Government evidently intend that they should, on the lines of narrowing down the points of difference, it may be hoped that agreement will be ultimately secured. The moral difficulty appears to be that each side claims sacrifices from the other as a set-off to those which it believes itself to be making; in other words, each side accuses the other of the fault formerly imputed in matters of commerce to the Dutch, of giving too little and asking too much.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

[E 3421/43/44] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 325.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 4, 1928.*

IN my despatch No. 307 of the 21st June last I had the honour to report that the Greek member of the Turco-Greek Exchange Commission had observed that, at the moment of the sudden and, to him, unexpected rupture of the negotiations between the two Governments, the points at issue had been brought down to three, and that there had seemed every hope of an early and satisfactory settlement.

2. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is spending a few days in Constantinople on his way to his rest cure near Vienna, was good enough to give me yesterday his account of the situation. Tewfik Rushdi said that nothing would be done during his absence, but that, on his return in the autumn, he was confident that he would not only sign a Turco-Greek pact, but would also get a settlement of the vexed questions of exchange of population and compensation. His Excellency said that agreement had in principle been reached in the discussions between himself and the Greek representative here, but that the political crises in Greece had made it impossible to get any settlement confirmed by the Greek Government, and that therefore the question had had to be suspended until the position in Athens was once more stable. Tewfik Rushdi added that he had no qualms whatever about the return of M. Venizelos to power. He was never frightened of statesmen and dictators—what really alarmed him was youth and inexperience, though to whom this last observation was pointed he did not reveal.

3. I have little doubt that the Minister for Foreign Affairs is sincere in his determination to come to a settlement with Greece, though whether it will be as easy as he seems to think to get the terms he has in mind remains to be seen. Those terms are, briefly, that each Government shall compensate its own nationals for the loss of their property in the other country, and that Turkey shall get the £500,000 as being the party who has to pay most in compensating its nationals. Indeed, his Excellency seems to have certain doubts himself, for he observed that one of the great obstacles in the way of arriving at agreement was that the Greek Government, while recognising the reasonableness of the settlement suggested, had not the strength to give it effect, and could only do so under outward pressure, which the country at large would recognise as having to be accepted. His Excellency therefore counted on the Mixed Exchange Commission, especially now that it had been strengthened by the arrival of M. Vieuna, to pronounce a decision which would have the moral force of the League of Nations behind it, and would be one that Greek Government and people would have to accept and, I might add, though his Excellency did not, the Turkish Government likewise, which would be a considerable help to Tewfik Rushdi Bey.

4. Yunus Nadi, in the "République," continues to attack the Greek Government, but there are reasons to suppose that personal motives play a part in his campaign, for it is generally believed that he and another Deputy and ex-journalist have bought up a goodly number of the Turkish claims cheap and are now trying to secure their profit by frightening the Greek Government with the threat of reprisals on Greek properties in Constantinople into paying high compensation. In any case, the Government paper, the "Milliett," is at pains to explain that there is no question of a rupture in negotiations, but only an unavoidable pause due to Tewfik Rushdi's visit

abroad in search of health and to the political situation for the moment in Greece, and there has been no sign of any application of the law to liquidate Hellenic properties in this country.

5. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3422/43/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 326.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 4, 1928.*

I HAVE had the honour in my despatch No. 325 of to-day to report the views on the Turco-Greek negotiations expressed to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

2. On that occasion Tewfik Rushdi Bey went on to speak of Turkish foreign policy in general. What he said was on the familiar lines that Turkey only wanted peace and good understanding with its neighbours and the world at large, and that the Pacts of Friendship which he was signing with all and sundry were solely designed to this end. His Excellency felt that this policy, which was sincere, could only conduce to the general good, and ought, in consequence, to meet with general approbation. He was, however, pained to observe that it apparently met with no response from those of whose approval he had felt most sure. It was true that Rome had pronounced itself unhesitatingly in his favour and London had shown a benevolent interest, though his Excellency hinted that it might have been more warmly expressed, but Paris, Berlin and Moscow were silent and Bucharest was, short-sightedly enough, actually trying to hinder the development of good relations between Turkey and Greece. Tewfik Rushdi supposed that the Roumanian Government thought that if the Turco-Greek Pact came into existence, Greece would take a stiffer attitude in her discussions with Roumania's Yugoslav ally, whereas in reality Greece, once she felt herself completely reassured on the side of Turkey, could afford in any negotiations with Belgrade to show a large and generous spirit.

3. I do not quite know why Tewfik Rushdi unbosomed himself to me of this grievance, though I may appreciate it as a mark of his confidence, nor do I quite see why the silence of Paris, Berlin and Moscow should upset him so much. But the grievance is certainly there. With regard to Roumania, Tewfik Rushdi added that the Roumanian Government seemed to have forgotten that it behoved it to remain as aloof from the discussions between Greece and Turkey as the Turkish Government remained in the question of Bessarabia. It was not altogether easy to restrain those in Turkey whose sympathies were with Russia on the Bessarabia question, and it was foolish of the Roumanian Government to risk this moral support being openly given to the Soviet Republic.

4. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ministers at Athens and Bucharest.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3524/3083/44] No. 7.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received July 16.)

(No. 337.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 11, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 282 of the 12th June on the subject of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate in Constantinople, I have the honour to report that, according to the local press, the Synod recently held in Rome decided upon the transfer of the Patriarchate to Beirut. It is further stated that this decision has been confirmed by the Holy See. In making this announcement the newspapers point out that by virtue of this decision the seat of the Patriarchate returns to its original home, the first Armenian Patriarchs having resided at Azemma, near Beirut.

2. The Patriarchate here has been officially notified of the decision. The Patriarch, Mgr. Terzian, will continue to reside in Rome, where he will have as his vicar Mgr. Nazlian, former Archbishop of Trebizond and ex-*locum tenens* of the Patriarchate. The Archbishoprics of Trebizond and Marash have been abolished, the incumbent of the latter having been appointed Patriarchal Vicar and *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate at Beirut. Mgr. Rokossian becomes Archbishop at Constantinople, and so head of the Armenian Catholic Church here. Finally, a new Archbishopric has been created at Mardin, and to it has been appointed Mgr. Nisimian, at present in the United States, who will reside at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3630/708/44] No. 8.

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).

(No. 430.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July 28, 1928*

THE Italian Ambassador informed me, in conversation on the 18th July, that he had just received an intimation to the effect that the Italian Embassy in Turkey will shortly be established at Angora. His Excellency appeared to indicate that the establishment of the Embassy at Angora was not quite synonymous with residence at that place.

I am, &c.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

[E 3789/126/44] No. 9.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 350.)
Sir, *Constantinople, July 26, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 261 of the 28th May last on the budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for the current year, I have the honour to inform you that the actual revenue collected during the financial year 1927–28 amounted, according to official returns, to £T. 204,167,629, representing a surplus of £T. 9,587,075 over the estimate of £T. 194,580,554.

2. The attached tables (Appendix I) showing the difference between actual revenue derived during 1927–28 as compared to the budget estimates for the current year, and (Appendix II) showing the estimates for 1927–28 compared to encashments, are submitted for information.* It will be observed that the customs receipts fell short of estimates by over £T. 4 million.

3. The attached memorandum furnished by the Ottoman Bank, dealing with the question of the continued decrease in customs receipts, may be of interest.*

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3866/71/44] No. 10.

Mr. Henderson to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 1324.)
Sir, *Paris, August 2, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to this Embassy's letter to the Eastern Department of the 20th July and previous correspondence, to inform you that on the 1st August I signed the protocol providing for the accession of Roumania to the Convention of the 23rd November, 1923, relating to the valuation and reparation of damage suffered in Turkey.

2. A certified copy of the protocol in question is enclosed herein.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON.

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* Not printed.

Enclosure in No. 10.

Protocole.

LES soussignés, dûment autorisés à cet effet, sont d'accord pour reconnaître à la Roumanie la possibilité, jusqu'au 1er octobre 1928, d'user de la faculté qui lui a été donnée par le protocole du 23 novembre 1923 de faire procéder à la signature de la convention de même date relative à l'évaluation et à la réparation des dommages subis en Turquie.

Toutefois, il est entendu que le bénéfice de cette faculté est subordonné aux conditions suivantes que le Gouvernement roumain devra avoir préalablement agréées:

(*a.*) La somme destinée à indemniser les dommages roumains ne devra, en aucun cas, excéder 350,000 livres turques or.

(*b.*) Le pourcentage attribué définitivement aux réclamations roumaines ne pourra dépasser le pourcentage attribué aux réclamations des autres Puissances contractantes.

(*c.*) Au cas où le règlement des réclamations roumaines, après le paiement de ce pourcentage, laisserait subsister un reliquat sur la somme de 350,000 livres turques or, ce reliquat restera à la disposition de la commission, qui fera des suggestions relativement à son emploi.

Fait à Paris, le 1er août 1928.

A. BRIAND.
NEVILE HENDERSON.
G. MANZONI.
M. ADATCI.

[E 3892/708/44] No. 11.

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 7.)

(No. 569.)
Sir, *Rome, August 3, 1928.*

WITH reference to your despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople No. 430 of the 28th ultimo, I questioned Signor Grandi this morning regarding the proposed establishment of the Italian Embassy at Angora. Signor Grandi replied that the Italian Ambassador in London had been instructed to give you a full explanation. The Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs were finding the present position impossible. No business could be done with the Angora Government through the Embassy at Constantinople, whereas a great deal could be accomplished through the counsellor at Angora. As a result, reports and instructions were passing directly between the Ministry and the counsellor without reference to the Embassy at Constantinople. The Italian Government thought of calling their Ambassador to Turkey "Ambassador at Angora" instead of at Constantinople, and a credit of 20 million lire had been obtained from the Ministry of Finance in order to build a suitable residence for the Ambassador at Angora. But it would take at least two years for the scheme to be carried into effect.

I have, &c.
R. GRAHAM.

[E 3997/9/44] No. 12.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 371.)
Sir, *Constantinople, August 4, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of an interesting despatch by His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reporting on a journey which he recently took along the Black Sea coast to Rizeh.

2. The various remarks made to Mr. Matthews in the course of his tour regarding Russia and the prospects of bolshevism spreading in this country are worthy of note. They are especially interesting in view of the reports now current that the Russians are in course of intensifying their propaganda in Turkey.

3. Another point brought out by Mr. Matthews's despatch is the economic depression of the district, due, on the one hand, to the collapse of Russia as a buyer of Turkish produce, and, on the other hand, to the extinction of the Christian population. The native Turk seems to have neither the will nor the ability to take the place of the latter as a producer. The spirit of modern progress seems, indeed, not to have spread very deep into this part of Turkey, where the fez can still be seen, women still go veiled and polygamy continues to be practised.

4. Perhaps, however, the most notable feature of Mr. Matthews's report is the fact that in all his conversations with the native population not one word seems to have been said of discontent with the present régime. This is the more remarkable in that the district was one of the last to take kindly to Mustafa Kemal and all his works, and there are rumours to-day that serious discontent is lying a very short way beneath the surface.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 12.

Consul Matthews to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 47. Confidential.)

Sir, *Trebizond, July 7, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with the authorisation contained in your Excellency's telegram, No. 8 of the 12th ultimo, I left Trebizond by motor car for Rizeh on the 16th ultimo.

2. A number of bridges between Trebizond and Rizeh were reported to have been carried away by floods caused by heavy rain during the previous week, and the driver of the car which I had originally engaged refused at the last moment to take me. However, I obtained another car which conveyed me as far as Arakli, where it broke down in attempting to ford the Kara-dereh stream just beyond that village, and had to be towed back to Trebizond for repairs. After a wait of several hours, I succeeded in obtaining horses and reached Humurgan, the chief town of the Surmeneh Kaza and now generally referred to as Surmeneh, late in the afternoon of the 16th June.

3. At Humurgan (Surmeneh), a straggling but picturesque little town of 700 or 800 inhabitants, I spent the night of the 16th June. The kaimakam, Saaduddin Bey, telegraphed at my request to his colleague at Of to enquire whether it was possible to proceed by car to Rizeh, and received in reply a telegram stating that the bridges at Solakli, Baltaji and Kala-Potamos (*sic:* kalos potamos) were completely destroyed, and that the only means of reaching Rizeh was by motor boat.

4. Humurgan was bombarded by the Russians during the Great War, but most of the damage has since been repaired, and the town looked fairly clean and prosperous. Its principal export is nuts, which, I was told, brought in £T. 2,500,000 to £T. 3,000,000 a year. No troops were stationed at Humurgan, but there were a few officers in charge of the recruiting office situated in the ground floor of the municipality, near the landing stage.

5. I was informed that about half of the road from Humurgan to Baiburt had been constructed, and a large, new stone building, which is to be used as Government House, was nearing completion.

6. Shakir Shukri Bey, president of the municipality and representative of the People's party, with whom I had a conversation, told me that he had been wounded by machine-gun fire in the arm and captured by the British forces in Palestine during the Great War. Fortunately, he observed, he was captured by a civilised London Regiment, and not by Indians or Australians. He had been a prisoner of war in Egypt, where, he said, he had been very well treated by the surgeon, a Scotsman, in charge of the hospital to which he was drafted. But for that surgeon he would have lost his right arm. In the course of further conversation he spoke of the damage done to Humurgan by Russian bombardments from the sea, and this led to talk about present-day Russia and to his declaring that the Turks and Russians had nothing in common and were "quite apart." During my short stay at Humurgan, I received the impression that the people, both officials and civilians, were friendly.

7. I left Humurgan in the afternoon of the following day, the 17th June, not by motor boat, as enjoined by the Kaimakam of Of, but by a motor car, which took me

as far as Solakli-dereh, otherwise the Of River, the wooden bridge over which had been completely swept away. I crossed the river by a ferry boat working on a steel hawser stretched from bank to bank, and after a walk of fifteen minutes reached Of. I had not been in the garden of the Of hotel more than a few minutes when the kaimakam, Sami Bey, the public prosecutor, the commandant of the gendarmerie and a local merchant, named Numer Effendi, put in an appearance. In the course of a long conversation I learned that the chief export of Of was hazel nuts, that the population of the town was 300 or 400, and of the kaza 70,000, and that the town was very unhealthy in summer, malaria and fever being prevalent. The maize sown in the valley of the Solakli-dereh had been washed away by the heavy rains and floods of the 12th–15th June. There was a fair motor road from Of to Baiburt, and motor cars did the journey in four or five hours. Most of the inhabitants of Of spent the summer months at Evian-Iskeleh, a village on the Humurgan–Of road, a few miles to the west of Solakli-dereh. Sami Bey, the kaimakam, told me with evident pride that although only three years ago practically every male habitant of Of wore a turban, now one seldom saw a sarikli. He would not admit that the women concealed their faces as strictly as formerly, but thought that legislation was necessary to bring them completely into line with the men. As at Humurgan (Surmeneh), there was a recruiting office at Of. There were no troops at Of and no movement of troops through Of.

8. After spending a night in the filthiest hotel in which it has ever been my misfortune to stay, I left Of on the morning of the 18th June by the row boat of the Of custom-house for the Sadik-zadeh saw-mill, situated on the right bank of the Kala-Potamos River. It interested me to find that, notwithstanding the existence of Turk Ojaks in Humurgan, Of and Rizeh, the Greek name of this river should be retained even in official use. On arrival at the Sadik-zadeh saw-mill, I found that the telephone to Rizeh was not working, but Sadik-zadeh Rushen Bey, one of the owners of the mill, who happened to be on the spot, arranged for the despatch of a messenger to Rizeh to order a motor car. During my four hours' wait, Rushen Bey entertained me better than he knew by talking freely and behaving naturally. He and his brothers, who spring from a family of Rizeh boatmen, made a considerable amount of money during the Great War and the armistice by transporting passengers and goods by motor boat between Constantinople and Black Sea ports. In addition to the saw-mill, they own the Sadik-zadeh line of steamers, and are agents of the Russian Oil Syndicate. Rushen Bey told me that Shukri Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, was contemplating a visit to the provinces of the Black Sea, and had recently telegraphed to the Vali of Rizeh that he intended landing there and would require a motor car to take him to Khopah and Artvin. Rushen Bey thought it extraordinary that the Minister of the Interior should be unaware that there was no motor road from Rizeh to Khopah or from Khopah to Artvin. I expressed the opinion that it was extraordinary that his own Department did not inform Shukri Kaya Bey that there were no such roads before he despatched the telegram. Rushen Bey complained that the absence of roads made it difficult for him to obtain supplies of timber for his mill. At present much of the timber that he used was floated down the Kala-Potamos, but that method of transport was precarious and only possible during a portion of the year. He had been thinking of having the timber transported by means of a steel cable from the forests to the saw-mill, but without roads he had found that it would be impossible to have a steel cable set up. He informed me that he exported wood to Constantinople and Smyrna, where it was always in demand. The only other saw-mill in Turkey of which he knew was at Bez-Nuk. The machinery in his mill came from Germany. He did not think that the wooden bridges between Trebizond and Rizeh, which had been carried away by the recent floods, would be replaced for two or three months, but motor cars might be able to get through from Trebizond to Rizeh in a few weeks when the water in the rivers had fallen.

9. Rushen Bey deplored the poverty of the country, and stated that before the Great War the bulk of the trade of the Turkish Black Sea coast had been with Russia. Owing to the conditions prevailing in Russia since the revolution, trade between Turkey and Russia had dwindled and no money was coming into this country from Russia. He was convinced that bolshevism was on the decline, and that Bolshevik propaganda could produce no effect in Turkey. As agent of the Napht Syndicate, he had noticed that bolshevism had changed greatly in the last five years. The Russians had killed or exiled their ablest men, and, in any case, Islam made the Turks proof against bolshevism. I thought of what Sami Bey, the Kaimakam of Of,

had told me the previous day respecting the changes effected in his district in the space of three years but refrained from asking Rustem Bey if Isaam at present influenced more or less Turkey except the inarticulate and powerless country people

10. I arrived at Rizeh by motor car in the evening of the 15th June and put up at the Yaramis hotel managed by a certain Stavket Effendi. Mazhar Said Bey Minister of Justice and Izzuddin Pasha army inspector arrived the following day by the steamship Resnid Pasha of the Seyr i Sefain and were received by the leading civil and military officials of detachments of the 7th Infantry Regiment which constitutes the garrison and a military band. Mahmud Said Bey held a reception at the vilayet on the 19th June while Izzuddin Pasha inspected as much of the garrison as could be paraded that day, say between 600 and 700 men. Two days later I saw a company of the troops marched past the barracks situated just west of the town and during the manœuvres were dressed in khaki and carried out part of their drill in the velvet jackets they had just received. The men were of the most miserable appearance, many of them being shoeless and in rags. The officers were wearing shoes of the country with turned up toes similar to those worn by the troops marched past, others

that the Russians had packets of new Bank of England notes numbered consecutively in the same series I could only suggest that as gold was liquid and Bank of England notes as good as gold, such notes were bound to find their way everywhere, even into Russia

21 There are practically no roads in the Atineh district, and the inhabitants are anything but prosperous The population of the town is about 500 and the chief exports are beans apples, timber and eggs The "Seir i Sefain" steamers call once a week weather permitting on their way to Khopah and other steamers call occasionally

22 Ahmed Bey told me that polygamy is still generally practised in the Rizeh and Kars Vilayets although the law now recognises only one of a polygamist's wives At Atineh like the other towns which I visited I possessed the depot of the spirit monopoly were open and other alcoholic beverages were for sale However the consumption of spirits is certainly small throughout my tour I observed no case of excessive drinking nor was any such case brought to my knowledge On the other hand I was impressed by the number of people who did nothing better to do than to play tric The house of this gang was to be heard in the streets from 5 A M to midnight and out of the way places as Ordu and Atineh

24 I had a number of interviews with Ekrem Effendi Kadi (Judge) of Atineh a member of the Old Turkish Regime Ekrem Effendi although a Laz from Atineh is not a supporter of the Laz Nationalist party at Artvin One of Ekrem Effendi's sons is at the Peoples party at Artvin One of Ekrem Effendi stated that the Laz language had been invented by Ogdai Khan's mother Ekrem Effendi stated that the Laz language had been invented by Ogdai Khan's mother to rule Atineh

[E 4142 128 44] No 13

Sir G Clerk to Lord Cushendun —(Received August 20.)

(No 384)

My Lord *Constantinople, August 14, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No 312 of the 26th June last, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that according to an announcement in the press, the Government authorities at Mardin received on the 12th instant the submission of Sheikh Abdurrahim and Sheikh Mehdi the brothers of the original leader of the Kurdish revolt in 1925, Sheikh Said In accordance with the terms of the amnesty these two chiefs have it is stated been pardoned and allowed to proceed to their homes in the north

2 It is hard to judge from here of the importance of this event, but it would seem as if it might be a distinct gain to the credit of the pacification policy And if the report is true it increases the advantage in political morals for in the days of the Sultans people who surrendered under promise of amnesty were usually disappointed in their hopes

3 Fethi Ali Bey the inspector general of the southern Kurdish districts has just been recalled a few days possibly after the Ghazi's arrival to take the Ghazi's orders about this surrender

4 [illegible] conversation with the Italian Chargé d'Affaires Ibrahim Tali expressed his satisfaction at the settlement with the Kurdish prisoners Dr Nouri Sabih Bey told him that the Government of Sheikh Kevan Bey the Minister of the Interior have had some control of the sincerity intention and repentance of the rebels As Mustafa Kemal Government thought he believes that the Ghazi by such clemency has won the confidence of the Kurds

5 I have the honour to report this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Baghdad

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

E 4143 128 44 No 14

Sir G Clerk to Lord Cushendun (Received August 20.)

(No 385)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 14, 1928*

ON the 8th instant there was at last unveiled the monument of the Ghazi to which the Constantinople Municipality has devoted years of desperate effort in clearing a space worthy dimensions at Taxim in Pera and in erecting contributions from abroad as well

2 Of my colleagues the Italian Ambassador alone was present at the ceremony the sculptors Italian nationality having no doubt furnished him with a pretext for discarding the practice he has adopted since the signing of the Italo-Turkish treaty of being at hand on all possible occasions Signor Mussolini also sent Mustafa Kemal Pasha a telegram of congratulation receiving a reply slightly less warm in tone

3 The monument which is less undignified than might have been expected, represents on one side the Ghazi at the cannon's mouth leading the army to victory and on the other the Ghazi in the midst of a group of contemporary Turkish statesmen, truck-suited like himself advancing to deliver the goods which must be imagined to be the modern Turkish State

4 It was perhaps unnatural that the speeches made on this occasion should have referred to the detested period of the Allied occupation of Constantinople A Deputy and another official speaker used measured terms in alluding to the Allies treatment of the city and its inhabitants and when the Allies are spoken of in this connexion it is always ourselves who are meant It is a fact to be reckoned with that the bitter memories entertained by Turks of all classes of the British military occupation are dying very hard and that moreover they are in some measure kept alive by an annual ceremony of the Turkish sentries who were killed in the first moments of the occupation

5 But the note chiefly struck by the Minister of Education, who unveiled this monument, and by the other speakers, was eulogy of the Ghazi It was the Ghazi who had not only delivered Constantinople but made the new Turkey This is true enough Indeed it is so clearly a truism that one cannot help being somewhat struck at each one of the public occasions on which it is pronounced by Cabinet Ministers and others. Only a few days ago for example, there was a Turkish pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Peninsula, and there the semi-official guide's theme was that the peninsula was the scene of a Turkish not a German—victory over the proud and strong and that that Turkish victory was due to the then Colonel Mustafa Kemal Bey Again, one would have thought that the country had had a sufficient dose of the Ghazi's great speech when it was delivered nearly a year ago. But the semi-official Millet daily treats its readers to extracts therefrom filling many columns and illustrating the Ghazi's forethought perspicacity tenacity and the other qualities with which he has served the country so well, and persuasively the new-born rubs it in with a leading article

6 It has evidently been deemed expedient to keep up the constant propaganda in the Ghazi's behalf It was to further the excesses of his private life which have unfortunately begun since his arrival here and are known to everyone are thought already to be getting the people tired against his heirs It may be that it is proposed [illegible] to counteract some of this discontent as there is still the latest report

7 How [illegible] this is extremely hard to say In the last place the country [illegible] on account of the present situation I have never seen it duller into business and trade is hopelessly languishing to the utter exhaustion of everybody except the Government Peasants who have been encouraged cheerfully to extend their area of cultivation are now heard to be pestilenced by locusts which will be equally ruinous of the Government Revenue from tithe Meanwhile the attitude of the Ghazi's entourage towards foreigners grows more pronounced many of the Ghazi's boon companions [illegible] grumbling at his slackness that the money should be more generously spent and the contract [illegible] than ever Indeed the semi-official Millet in a recent leading article admitted that he [illegible] would not be surprised to hear explosions shots among us which [illegible] the Treaty of Lausanne was very often both the one and the other

8 I have no reason to think that the Government finds the political effects of the present economic crisis [illegible] embarrassing But I doubt if they are more serious than that The Government seems to have a firm grip over the country as ever With the Government itself there seem to have been dissensions which have now been overcome The Ghazi is said to have summoned Fethi Bey from Paris to help him to overcome Ismet Pasha's resistance to certain financial proposals of the Ghazi's with the Turkish consequence that Ismet Pasha preferred his resignation to the reversion of Ismet's premiership the Ghazi's second [illegible] was obliged to give way to his Prime Minister

9 Although therefore there are rumours of minor changes in the Government including the perennial report of Tewfik Rushdy's impending retirement the Government seems solid enough Nor is there any precaution of discontent in the army The constant uncertain factor is the Ghazi's health I have again learnt on fairly good authority that his supporters feeling that he cannot last more than a year or two have made all plans for an emergency and are confident of keeping control of the country The successor in view is said to be either Kiazim Pasha the President of the Assembly or more probably Ismet Pasha and the People's party which has a strong organisation throughout the country would be relied on to enforce acceptance of the choice

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

[E 4144/127/44] No. 15

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun (*Received August 20*)

(No. 886)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 14, 1928*

I WAS informed officially last week that on the 7th instant the Soviet Ambassador and the Minister for Foreign Affairs signed at Angora certain minor agreements concerning the Russo-Turkish frontier, namely, renewals of the Pastures Convention and the Trade Convention which were originally made at Tiflis in March 1922 and two new agreements one for the local settlement of frontier disputes and the other which had been signed *ad referendum* two years ago at Batum, relating to veterinary measures.

2. In spite of these signs of agreement I learn that the Angora Government is becoming seriously concerned at the effect of Bolshevik propaganda in this country, so that the influence of my Soviet colleague is becoming less and less. The withdrawal of Jowik Bey from the Embassy at Moscow was interpreted as meaning that the Ghazi not only wanted Russian friendship, but that he now regarded Soviet support as of little positive value whatever its negative importance. I have myself noticed that Soviet propaganda has affected the outlook of Turks who had previously been the most friendly to Russia, and I am told that the Government have found it necessary to take some steps to counteract the progress of the Soviet intrigues.

3. At the beginning of August the presidential council of certain soldiers and politicians which guides the policy of the Government paid a visit to the capital of the Black Sea province of Trebizond, and I am told that the object of their visit was to increase very greatly the Government's influence in that province. At present I must trust the Turkish leaders to maintain their new position. There is work to be done in that province, and I am told that they intend to deal with the question of railway communications with the Central Executive. The Minister of Public Works is said to be in favour of the Trebizond-Erzerum railway, but the Ministry of Finance are opposed to any expenditure on railways at present. The latter are said to be in favour of the construction of a railway from Trebizond to Sivas, which would open up the rich copper mines of the Gumush Khaneh district. The Ghazi is reported to have said that the Turks are not afraid of Soviet armaments, but of Soviet propaganda, and that they will therefore take strong measures. At the same time the Angora Government have begun to counteract Bolshevik propaganda efficiently without the aid of the Soviet Government, and an attempt on Ghazi's life

I have, &c.

GEORGE CLERK

E 4146/18/44 No. 16

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun — (*Received August 20*)

(No. 888)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 16, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the negotiations between the Turkish Government and the Swedish Railway group referred to in my despatch No. 272 of the 30th May last, have at last been brought to a conclusion.

2. It would appear that the Turkish Government has decided to retain those financial clauses of the original contract which fixed its total commitments at 55 million pounds. Under the new arrangement, according to press reports, the Swedish group would first construct the line from Ineboli on the Black Sea coast, through Zafranbolu and Eshangri to Irmak, on the Kizil River to the east of Angora, and that they shall merely construct so much of the southern line from the Baghdad Railway to Darbeke, as will be possible for the money which then remains to them. The period of construction is increased from five and a half to seven and a half years.

3. In order to prevent the group from accepting bonds in future for work which they have not done, the Turkish Government has requested that all bonds received in excess of the value of work actually carried out be returned forthwith, and has decided that future payments will be made only as the work is executed.

4. The revision of this contract after the cancellation of the contract granted to the Belgian group makes it of some interest to review the actual position which has been reached in the Turkish Government's scheme for railway construction.

5. The Swedish group have as yet done very little levelling on their northern line, though some progress has been made from Irmak, where 20 kilom. of rails have arrived and will shortly be laid. On the southern line levelling was proceeded from

Keller (on the Baghdad Railway) to Bohsane, but work will presumably be suspended on this line until the northern stretch is completed. This means that the possibility of tapping the Arghana copper region is even further from fulfilment than the connexion of the Eregli and Zonguldak coalfields with the capital and the new lines take on more and more a purely strategic appearance.

6. The German group of Julius Berger has completed the work of levelling on about half the stretch Kutchu Balkessir and rails are already being laid along 120 kilom. No work has yet been done on the other line for which this group is responsible between Boghaz Keupri (on the Angora line just west of Kusaree) and Ouloa Kechla (on the Ivan Beled line).

7. The contract granted to the Belgian group for the construction of the line round Sivas Kaisarie was signed on the 16th January 1928 (see my despatch No. 9 of the 16th January). This line will start from Sivas and run for 200 kilom. from Tashut (at the point where it leaves the present railway) as far as Zewanie (80 kilom. beyond Tashut and 220 kilom. from Sivas). A group of French directors has undertaken to carry the line to Messaurie, a total of 80 kilom. The Belgian group had levelled over 70 kilom. from Kaisarie to Tashut (or nearly all the new line) up to the point where it leaves the present railway, and hope to bring the line into operation from Sivas.

8. When Fox Brothers first entered into the negotiations referred to in paragraph 9 of my despatch No. 272 of the 30th May last, they had in mind a contract for the construction of a railway from Sivas to Erzerum, and the Swedish group were brought in only after the Swedish Government had declined to guarantee the loan. Fox Brothers are now trying to take up the contract on further negotiations with the Turkish Government. It was only to be expected that the Turkish Government would wish to link up the Baghdad line with Sivas, and from Sivas to Erzerum, and Fox Brothers have now suggested a line from Sivas to Erzerum via Kaisarie, Kara Sivas (south of Melitene) and the port of Eregli, Samsoun and Mersina (the three ports nearest to the interior). A railway at present exists from the port of Samsoun to the Kasaba Inebadli at Derindje, 75 kilom. west of Sivas, and that from the port of Ventsa (near Kara Kaisarie) to a point 13 kilom. south-west of Develi (a total distance of 170 kilom.) is necessary to connect Samsoun with Sivas and Kaisarie (about 210 kilom.).

9. The contract for the Sivas Erzerum railway gives the Turkish Government the right to build the line as a purely strategic railway, but the General Staff are extremely suspicious of foreign advisers, one of Fox Brothers engineers have not yet been allowed to survey the line.

10. The Ilma Malatia branch is some 220 kilom. in length, but as Fox Brothers have undertaken the completion of the section of the Keller-Ainkeupri line left uncompleted by the Swedes, this Malatia branch will not fall to their share. In any case, if Fox Brothers obtain the contract they will be responsible only for the construction of some 300 kilom. of new railway line. The estimated amount of the contract is 180 million francs. It is expected that cost of construction will average not less than 1,000 francs per kilometre, while on the basis of the revised figure at which the Swedish group estimated the harbour construction at Eregli, the three harbours should cost approximately 30 million francs, a total of some 120 million francs actual expense.

11. There is yet no information available as to the conditions of the contract, but my informant is confident that an agreement will shortly be reached. It is certain that the Turkish Government is most anxious to avoid entering into a third contract which will later have to be cancelled or revised. It is extremely suspicious of any phrasing of the slightest ambiguity and weighs anxiously each word of the proposed contract. Fox Brothers, on the other hand, seem very anxious to make sure of their financial position. They are naturally slow to take over the responsibility of the old Belgian group, and so risk being involved in the numerous lawsuits to which this has given rise. At the same time, although unable to profit to a large extent by the experience of others, they are still being asked to contract for work in country where conditions which must remain largely unknown to the contractors for the work as well as to the Government.

12. On the other hand, it is reported that the Minister of Public Works is determined to push the matter through. There is serious opposition in the Assembly caused by the Deputy for Eski Chehr, himself a contractor, which realises that Turkish credit is weak, and that money from abroad can only be obtained at high rates of interest. It maintains that large sums would be saved if railways were built out of income, and

would patriotically prefer that the money which will yearly leave the country should fall into Turkish rather than into foreign pockets. Such an opposition may prove awkward to face when the Assembly reopens and Behdj Bey is anxious to be able to present them with a *fait accompli* and to assure them that in spite of the trouble caused by the Swedish group, fresh contracts have been made to carry unceasingly forward the important work of opening up darkest Anatolia by railway.

13. Whether this contract, if successfully signed, will prove more lucrative than the other two seems to me doubtful. The actual sum for railway construction budgeted for by the Minister of Public Works is 2½ million liras. The present annual charge in respect of the 178 million liras bonds already covered by the Belgian, Swedish and German groups amounts to 26,750,000 liras for the next five years.

14. It would, therefore, appear necessary to find fresh revenue if Fox Brothers are to be paid by bonds in the same way as the Swedish group. I confess that I see no source whence further revenue can be derived. It looks indeed as if Turkey was nearing the point after which no further construction can be done out of income, and that this ambitious scheme for the construction of utterly unprofitable railways is doomed to failure unless the contractors are prepared to grant a loan to the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4293/60/44 No. 17

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. *Received August 28.*

(No. 401.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 21, 1928.*

My despatch No. 268 of the 20th May last reported that the first step towards the introduction of European characters had been taken by the passage of the law which established the use of European figures in all Departments of State though, owing to an error in the press telegram making the announcement the date of the change was given as this summer instead of 1929. In any case, the press already uses European figures, the Constantinople municipality proposes to bring them into official use next month, and they will be generally official as from next autumn.

2. It has been supposed that the introduction of European characters would not be compulsory for at least five years. But the ruling spirits of Angora who during this summer weather are all scattered in pleasanter haunts at Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere are devoting some of their leisure to a determined effort to speed up the innovation. As none of them is a student they evidently mean going to bother to learn the new letters if by any means there are five years ahead before they can be forced on the country to which end they will be obliged to use them in the course of the next two years. They mean, therefore, to put forth that the new alphabet will be in official use in two years.

3. Every kind of publicity is being given to the subject. Every day newspapers publish a few paragraphs in the new alphabet, whether it be a well known poem or a saying of the Ghazis. One paper has already started a prize competition in the new writing. Courses have been opened by the University, the Press Association, the training colleges and the Turk Ocaks. But the greatest impetus has been given to the movement by the Ghazi himself. He describes the new letters not as "European characters" but as "the new Turkish characters." He declares that the Turkish mind has been held by the Arabic characters as in a vice. It is everyone's duty, therefore, as he says, to help to speed the new Turkish letters, and the papers publish facsimiles of his own writing in the new style. A class has been started for Cabinet Ministers and others who frequent him at Dolma Bagtesh Palace, and at dances and other gatherings where he appears in public the Ghazi has developed an awkward trick of singling an individual out and asking him how he is getting on with the new letters. Those who were present at the naval regatta last Friday must have observed that the President's yacht now has her name inscribed thus—"Ertogrul" instead of "Ertogrul," and the more old fashioned of them may have shuddered to think that that same vessel was built to the order of Abdul Hamid the originator of pan-Islam.

4. It is characteristic of local methods that, although the new letters are being advertised like this, the precise form of the new alphabet has not yet been finally and officially settled. From the philologists point of view the work has been pretty well done so far. The general principle is to have one letter for one sound. No new letters have been made, but certain of the usual letters are put to unusual uses or given diacritical signs. The language might have been reproduced not too clumsily by being spelt as if it were French, but, it is interesting to note, one of the reasons for avoiding this procedure was the desire to avoid increasing French cultural influence. No doubt that decision has caused keen disappointment to the French Embassy. For the foreign world in general there is some satisfaction in the thought that it may soon be possible to make out the names of stations and other useful signs which are at present exhibited with the most rigid exclusiveness in Arabic characters only.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4364/4000/44] No. 18

Sir G. Clerk to the Earl of Balfour. *(Received September 3.)*

(No. 396.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 28, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit with reference to my despatch No. 376 of the 8th instant a further despatch from Mr. Morgan upon the subject of the Smyrna police. The state of things prevailing there seems to have impressed the Minister of Justice, Mahmud Essad Bey, during a recent visit of inspection, for he has declared with some emphasis that the reform which his Ministry is now going to embark on is that of the prison system of the country. This reform has been overdue for long and it may be wondered whether if Mahmud Essad Bey succeeds in introducing into prison life the monotony of cleanliness, order and isolation he will not make it a more severe punishment than as a deterrent.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 18

Consul General Morgan to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 63.)
Sir, *Smyrna, August 20, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the campaign against the police referred to in my despatch No. 59 of the 4th August to your Excellency is still proceeding.

2. Shadet succumbed to her wounds, and her assassin, Police Inspector Abdullah, was committed to prison. He has since unsuccessfully made application to be released on bail and declares that his life is in danger as the majority of his fellow prisoners owe their incarceration to him.

3. That his fears are not unfounded is proved by the fact that on two occasions during the present month pitched battles have taken place between the prisoners in the Central Prison of Smyrna. The ringleaders of the first fight were men sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and knives were freely used. The result of an hour's fighting was that two men were seriously wounded. The second fight produced three casualties. The local press deduces from these incidents that there is some disorganisation in the police administration.

4. The police authorities are beginning to show signs of resenting criticism of their methods. A lawyer named Emrer Fuad having rashly stated that certain clients of his had been beaten in April last at a police station is at the present moment standing his trial at the instance of the chief of police. The latter has deemed it necessary to make a tour of inspection of all the police stations in Smyrna and the public has been glad to learn that the inspection has brought to light a series of irregularity in one of the stations where the chief of the station was found to be wearing clogs.

5. It must on the whole be considered a good sign that the press is free to publish criticism of the police and that it exercises its privilege.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

[E 4466, 1223 44] No. 19

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. (*Received September 10*)

(No. 404)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 4, 1928*

WITH reference to Sir A. Chamberlain's despatch No. 352 of the 19th June last, I have the honour to report that the Turkish press has recently announced with much satisfaction a favourable verdict given by The Hague Court on the point submitted to it by the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations. This decision following upon that given in the "Lotus" case last year, may be hoped to influence this country towards the settlement of disputes by arbitration, and more particularly by The Hague Tribunal.

2. The question at issue arose out of a dispute regarding the interpretation to be given to article 4 of the final protocol annexed to the Athens Agreement of the 1st December 1926. According to that article, "any questions of principle of importance which may arise in the Mixed Commission in connexion with the new duties entrusted to it by the agreement signed this day" and which when that agreement was concluded it was not already discharging in virtue of previous instruments defining its powers, shall be submitted to the President of the Greco-Turkish Arbitral Tribunal sitting at Constantinople for arbitration. The arbitrator's award is to be final.

3. The question arose whether such questions of principle could be submitted to the arbitrator either of the two parties directly or only by the Mixed Commission itself. The Greek Government took the former view, hoping in this way to be able to get at any rate some points settled over the head of the Mixed Commission, whose record in the matter of settling even the simplest disputes is frankly deplorable. The Turkish Government on the other hand, stuck up for the right of the Commission to decide whether a question should be referred to the arbitrator.

4. The Hague Tribunal as I have already stated upheld the Turkish point of view. I learnt however from Greek sources while in Athens that since the arrival of the new Italian member of the Mixed Commission M. Vienna the question of less importance in Greek eyes since M. Vienna and the all-powerful President of the Commission had a mind of his own and could take a decision in the event of his colleagues disagreeing, and even in spite of them. If this be so there may be a hope that in the coming year the Commission may at last begin to settle some of the questions it was set up to deal with.

5. Meanwhile the press reports that the Italian representatives, both here and at Athens, are busy endeavouring to bring the two countries together and the not unfavourable comments in the Turkish press upon M. Venizelos's electoral success may indicate that the Turkish Government is hopeful of being able to conclude some amicable settlement with Greece in the not too distant future.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4467 708 44 No. 20

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. — (*Received September 10*)

(No. 406)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 5, 1928*

WITH reference to Sir A. Chamberlain's despatch No. 262 of the 2nd May last I have the honour to report that the Comte de Chambrun, the newly appointed French Ambassador, arrived here two days the end of July.

2. As M. Ponsot, the Comte de Chambrun's predecessor, only left Turkey a few days before the President of the Republic came down from Angora to spend the summer on the Bosphorus, the question of the presentation of his successor's letters of credence became one of considerable importance in French eyes. The Ghazi steadfastly refused to acknowledge the official existence of Ambassadors and Ministers in Constantinople or anywhere except at Angora, and let it be clearly understood that he had no intention of interrupting his holiday by a special journey to Angora for the purpose of receiving Comte de Chambrun. On the other hand, the French Government having to settle a number of rather urgent questions to discuss with Turkey, insisted that the Ambassador should enter upon his functions as soon as possible. I understand, therefore, that Fethi Bey, the Turkish Ambassador to Paris, was very emphatically told by the Quai d'Orsay that when he came here for the Afghan visit he must make his Government understand the importance of arranging for the early reception of the new French Ambassador. Fethi Bey on his return to Paris, seems to have said quite definitely that he had arranged a plan whereby the Ghazi would "happen" to be in Angora in the early days of July and would take the opportunity of receiving Comte de Chambrun and the new Persian and Afghan Ambassadors and the new Polish Minister. On the strength of this assurance Comte de Chambrun arrived, only to find that the Ghazi had no intention of going to Angora until the autumn.

3. The situation threatened to become a little difficult, for the French thought that their prestige was suffering by the presence of an unaccredited Ambassador awaiting the Ghazi's pleasure while on the other hand, the French Government was loth to be the first to increase the slight tension over Syria by telling Comte de Chambrun to leave the country until the date of his reception was fixed. Fortunately, my American colleague pointed out the common sense way in which a similar situation which is not infrequent is dealt with in Washington, and the solution was adopted as soon as Tewfik Rushdi returned from his cure. It has now been arranged by agreement with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that, while awaiting his reception by the President of the Republic, Comte de Chambrun is recognised by the Turkish Government as having entered into official relations with it and as having taken over the direction of the French Embassy.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4469 127 44 No. 21

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. (*Received September 10*)

(No. 408)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 5, 1928*

IN my despatch No. 480 of the 11th August last I had the honour to report on a certain measure which appeared to be intended to "Russify" Soviet petroleum exports. Since then the process of "Russification" was carried a step further on the 20th August. Although Russian exports of petroleum products from Turkey had fallen, the Turkish export figures, which are carefully watched, were to be allowed up to the previous maximum. But this new relaxation of the agreement has been far from stopping all friction. There have been further complaints in the press at the treatment accorded to Russian transit traffic, and Russia who seems to have tried to evade the Soviet restrictions on the remittance of funds abroad is said to have been dealt with severely by the Soviet authorities.

2. Trebizond Mr. Mattl was reported to have announced by local Governor that in retaliation for the confiscation of Turkish properties in Russia the properties of Soviet nationals in Turkey are to be sequestered. A first step in this direction has actually been taken by the official sale at auction of the house recently occupied by the Russian consul, but as the Soviet national who owned it was by race a Greek perhaps too serious an inference should not be drawn.

3. Arrests of persons suspected of Communist sympathies and activities continue: half a dozen here, one at Erzerum, two workmen who were charged with distributing pamphlets and collecting money at Angora. Mr. Mattl was also reported that several officers are under arrest at Sarikamish for selling military documents. I have now been shown a copy of the manifesto mentioned in the last paragraph of my previous despatch as having been recorded at Angora. It announces the sixth congress of the Third International and calls on the Turkish Communist party — which, of course, cannot be said to exist — for support. It describes the Angora Government as imperialists who prostitute the word "people," the Grand National Assembly as *bourgeois* parasites, and the Ghazi, though it does not mention him by name, as an intolerable *bourgeois* dictator. This of course, is about as near blasphemy as one can get in this lay republic. It may explain the rumour for which I cannot vouch that my Soviet colleague recently distributed the sum of 500,000 dollars amongst the great ones of Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4471 560 44] No 22

Sir G Clerk to Lord Cushendun — (Received September 10)

(No 410)

My Lord *Constantinople, September 5, 1928*

WITH reference to my despatch No 391 of the 22nd August, I have the honour to enclose a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reporting that there, too, the movement for the spread of the new alphabet is in full swing Mr Matthews mentions that the interest of the inhabitants is in proportion to the difficulty they anticipate in learning the new letters On the other hand, one hears of enthusiasm being aroused here and there among the illiterate by the Ghazi's asseveration that people who in all their lives have never been able to master the Arabic script will be able to acquire the use of the new Turkish letters in a few months

2 The campaign is going vigorously The Ministry of Justice and even the Department of Religious Affairs have started courses of instruction in the new alphabet for their staffs Lewfos Rushdi Bey declares that the correspondence of his department will shortly be conducted in the new characters Members of the popular party are shown to special courses at Dolma Bagdeh Palace and pressure at Smyrna to force the hand of the Minister of Justice by presenting him with petitions addressed to the Ghazi in the latter's letters

3 But the chief propaganda list has yet not failed to the Ghazi himself Crossing the Marmara he visited Ismid Less than seven days ago he paid surprise visits to Rodosto and Brussa appeared at the Government offices there and lectured the officials about the alphabet At Rodosto he went to the chemist's shop and invited a priest to write a sentence in Arabic Nobody could read it The Ghazi then wrote the same Arabic sentence in the new script and everybody—of course—read it with ease The wireless was then called on to play its part in the night the Ghazi's instruction was broadcast while a man wrote to dictation what was to be heard The Arabic texts displayed in shops were changed to the Latin alphabet Such incidents as these Ghazi must be rank high among the events that the introduction of the new script was the will of the people Mustafa Kemal himself or anyone who might be instructed to resort to the imminent disappearance of Arabic from Moslem worship the wireless station would be told to light a fire down for the night

4 On the 1st and 2nd instant the Ghazi visited Chanak and the Gallipoli battlefields and town Again he addressed the officials on the subject of the alphabet and his remarks on the course of historic events on the peninsula were reproduced in the press largely in the new characters So the campaign goes on But the minorities may have seen cause for anxiety in a recent leading article of the semi-official 'Millet' which said that with the removal of the barrier constituted by the old Arabic letters the assimilation of all racial elements would be easy and there would be nothing to warrant Greeks, Armenians and Jews in Turkey making use of their own languages any more

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

Enclosure in No 22

Consul Matthews to Sir G Clerk

(No 64)

Sir, *Trebizond, August 27, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to report for your Excellency's information that the Ghazi's pronouncement at the Serai Burnu Gardens, Constantinople, in favour of the use of the Latin alphabet was not unexpected here and that the interest which it has excited is in like ratio to the inconvenience which it will cause to those of the inhabitants who by the nature of their calling are obliged to know how to read and write

2 The local press and motor cars have been using the new international figures instead of the local Arabic figures since the beginning of June last Motor cars are now changing Trabzon on their native plates from Arabic into Latin characters while the local Turkish newspapers, Yeni Yol and Trabzon Gazetasi write a few sentences each issue in the new characters

3 The local Turk Ojaghi is organising classes to teach the new characters, and the Vali has asked the Ministry of the Interior for a supply of 50,000 copies of the new official alphabet.

4 A Mussulman of Baku with whom I had a conversation to-day, informed me that the Latin characters had been successfully used by Moslem newspapers of the Soviet Caucasian republics for more than two years He also informed me that the Minister of Public Instruction of Azerbaijan who is a Mussulman, had recently prohibited modern dances like the 'Charleston' as immoral, although such dances were approved by the Government in other portions of the Soviet Union

I have, &c
W D W MATTHEWS

E 4561 71 44 No 23

Sir W Tyrrell to Lord Cushendun (Received September 17)

(No 147)

HIS Majesty's representative at Paris presents his compliments to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note from the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs dated the 13th September, respecting the accession of Roumania to the Convention of the 23rd November, 1923, relating to the valuation and reparation of damage suffered in Turkey

Paris, September 17, 1928.

Enclosure 1 in No. 23

French Ministry for Foreign Affairs to British Embassy, Paris.

LE Ministère des Affaires étrangères a l'honneur de faire savoir à l'Ambassade de Grande-Bretagne que la Roumanie vient d'adhérer à la convention du 23 novembre 1923 relative à l'évaluation et à la réparation des dommages subis en Turquie, et cela aux conditions prévues dans le protocole signé à Paris le 1er août 1928.

Pour répondre au désir exprimé par le Chargé d'Affaires de Roumanie à Paris, le Ministère des Affaires étrangères a l'honneur de faire parvenir, ci-joint, à l'Ambassade de Grande-Bretagne une copie certifiée conforme de la communication par laquelle M Cantacuzène a notifié au Gouvernement de la République l'adhésion de son Gouvernement à la convention précitée

Paris, le 15 septembre 1928

Enclosure 2 in No. 23.

M. Cantacuzène to M Briand.

Légation de la Roumanie, Paris,
M le Président, *le 10 septembre 1928.*

EN me référant à la correspondance échangée au sujet de l'accession de la Roumanie à la convention du 23 novembre 1923 concernant l'évaluation et la réparation des dommages subis en Turquie j'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence que je suis spécialement chargé par mon Gouvernement de notifier au Gouvernement de la République que la Roumanie adhère à la convention susmentionnée et accepte les conditions prévues dans le protocole du 1er août 1928 et qui sont les suivantes :

1 La somme destinée à indemniser les dommages roumains ne devra, en aucun cas, excéder 750000 livres turques or ;

2 Le pourcentage attribué également aux réclamations roumaines ne pourra dépasser le pourcentage attribué aux réclamations des autres Puissances ;

3. Au cas où le règlement des réclamations roumaines après le paiement de ce pourcentage, laisserait subsister un reliquat sur la somme de 350,000 livres turques or, ce reliquat restera à la disposition de la commission, qui fera des suggestions relativement à son emploi.

Conformément à ce qui précède, je vous serais reconnaissant, M. le Président, de prendre acte de l'adhésion de la Roumanie et de bien vouloir en faire part aux Gouvernements des Puissances signataires de l'accord qui fait l'objet du protocole du 1er octobre 1928.

Veuillez, &c.
Le Ministre plenipotentiaire,
Chargé d'Affaires de Roumanie,
B. CANTACUZÈNE.

E 4662/128/44 No. 21

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun — Received September 24

(No. 426)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 19, 1928*

ON the 13th instant Ismet Pasha accompanied by the Minister of Health left Angora on a tour through Eastern Anatolia to Sivas to Malatia the chief town of Ismet's own constituency. Here on the 15th he delivered a long speech reviewing all the aspects of Turkish policy. On the subject of international relations he started with some justice that what was good about the maintaining the shipping status quo was that it had not been the occasion of any abnormal treaties.

2. Turning to foreign affairs Ismet Pasha remarked that at the present the Government was a strong one and came to preserve the country's independence and invite states with whom it was at present at war with no enemies. Turkey's attitude was that no Power had the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Government. Treaties to which Turkey was a party could not be modified except by mutual agreement. Turkey's policy was to establish friendly relations with all her neighbours. As regards Russia, the Government had confidence in the loyal execution of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality signed in December last. Ismet Pasha referred to the recent visit of Monsieur Herriot to Angora and to the friendly letter from M. Voroshilov to the Ghazi and he hoped for further improvement in relations with Russia. With Great Britain relations were cordial. They were good with France. Italy was the Power with whom they had had most difficulty in arriving at a settlement but this had been successfully concluded. With Greece Turkey had no serious political differences. Greece could not remain indifferent to the losses of her citizens. For his part he would do all in his power to effect the settlement which he hoped would lead to a friendly letter from M. Venizelos. Relations with Roumania were cordial. With Bulgaria Turkey had no serious political differences. Greece could not remain indifferent to the losses of her citizens. For his part he would do all in his power to effect the settlement which he hoped would lead to a friendly letter from M. Venizelos. Relations with Roumania were cordial. With Bulgaria Turkey had no serious political differences.

3. Ismet Pasha then dealt with economic affairs. He repeated that the Government had no intention of borrowing. They had vivid recollections of the disastrous consequences of foreign loans. They had got on very well without foreign money so far and he added with an optimism which all will not share—their railway programme would be finished in a few years. Next year they were going to start on a £T 100 million programme of works designed firstly to stop floods from devastating agricultural land and secondly to irrigate it. While he wished his hearers to realise that credit was not an inexhaustible supply of money available for anyone to finance his own schemes he was able to tell them that they would have a State bank in a year and that the Government was going to deal drastically with present methods of usury which he truly observed were rank robbery. The Government was also going to take steps to stabilise the currency and to prevent spending abroad.

4. The Pasha's peroration was devoted to the new alphabet. The whole movement, he said, was a campaign against ignorance. The object was none less than to make every individual able to read and write. Thus alone could the full development of later generations be assured. In this campaign against established tradition the Ghazi himself was going about like a village teacher and the whole country had been turned into a schoolroom.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4759/560/44 No. 20

Mr. Eldridge (Lord Cushendun's Secretary) — Received October 11

(No. 157)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 27, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to report that leaving behind him a gracious message of farewell and blandishments of Turkish nationalism, the Ghazi accompanied by his sporting friends set out on the 13th instant on his way back to Angora. He chose the overland route by Ismid to push propaganda of new ideas. After breaking at Sapanja where Ismet Pasha met the Post and the Ministers of Health, Education and Public Instruction, who had travelled by road from Angora, Sivas and Cesarea to Angora, were the first to receive instructions to prepare. At each place the Ghazi held forth on the merits of the new alphabet. At Sivas, he recorded, he was very well satisfied with what he had seen. He thought that in the late autumn he would be in a position to write a letter to the Ghazi in the new characters. He was sure that all other members of the party would be able to do the same. He expressed the hope that all other members of the party would be able to do the same. He was sure that all other members of the party would be able to do the same.

2. Meanwhile it is said that 2,000 adults can already read and write the new Arabic characters. They are mostly—and rightly—the new apostles who will be the chief agents of progress in the future. Fifteen thousand teachers are being trained to teach the new letters. Text books are being printed for the people. A new press has been established at Angora, and before the end of the year 200 typewriters will be turned out. A few days ago in Constantinople some 200 persons have been selected for twenty-eight days' course of instruction in the new alphabet. At a recent meeting of the Republican Party Deputies have left the confines of their homes to visit the people and Smyrna and, in imitation of their chief, are learning the unfamiliar characters in order to stimulate the new movement. The Ghazi is being still more closely watched. It is said that new letters are called the Ghazis alphabet. He replies in person only to telegrams to someone who suggests that the prescribed list of the letters "ghain" and "kaf" is not perfect and that he suggests that the alphabet is fixed for ever. A few days previously he had himself decided the elimination of the newly proscribed "hyphen" as being of no use to the educated. No successful part of the country feels secure from a visit from him at any time. His interest has been the propaganda in general that official departments are now announcing the introduction of the new writing for the first of next month.

3. Amongst other departments the Directorate of Religious Affairs has made this announcement presumably with a certain malicious glee, for it is easy to imagine the consternation of the priests, who depend on this Directorate for their monthly pittance. The public in general has come to realise that the introduction of the new alphabet is a much more serious affair than the imposition of the hat. The Turkish parent sees that his child will grow up unable to read the Koran unless it be translated into Turkish and transcribed into the new characters. He sees also that the priests who are still at their age to officiate are, as a class, likely to take unkindly to the new alphabet. It is plain that in the result there will be a further diminution of religious influence. The children who grow up unable to read Arabic characters will be subject most to the influence of such strong-minded bosses as the Government may permit to be put into the new writing, and if such priests as may be inadequate enough to qualify for teaching the bosses approve. It is small wonder that among the uneducated there are absurd rumours about as to the Ghazi intending to pervert the whole country to Christianity.

4. It is not generally known but it appears to be a fact that some time ago the Ghazi had a plan of foreign settlement to be carried out in Kaya, where a model mixed farm of west European breeds was to be established from the profits by his friends, and failure to be prevented. But a series of unfortunate events organised from the recommendations of a commission which sat at the University here this summer to discuss the adaptation of forms of Arabic words to the Latin characters.

Pews and music were to be introduced, ablutions dispensed with, boots and shoes admitted, and the Liturgical language was to be Turkish. The commission even ventured into the domain of dogma and suggested that the whole interpretation of Moslem scriptures should be overhauled in the light of modern science and philosophy. Suddenly the rector of the university issued an official denial that any such scheme was under consideration, and no more has been heard of the matter. It cannot, however, have been forgotten by the people, and no doubt the official intention is to proceed with it whenever the moment is felt to have come. It is to be ascribed not so much to a silly desire to make Turkey appear modern as to an honest conviction that religion as practised in Turkey has been a bar to the country's progress.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 4854/708/44] No. 26

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 441.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 4, 1928.*

IN my despatch No. 400 of the 5th September last, I had the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival of the new French Ambassador in Turkey and the difficulties he has experienced in entering officially upon his functions. He (Ghazi) has now returned to Angora. M. de Chambrun has at last been able to present his letters of credence, and the festivities connected therewith took place on the 28th September. Copies of the speeches exchanged on this occasion, as reported in the semi-official "Millet," are enclosed herein.*

2. When M. de Chambrun paid me his first official call after his presentation by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported in my despatch referred to above, he said that he was happy to think that the relations between the French and Turkish Governments had never been so close as they were now, and we had every confidence that we should work together in the same spirit. I replied, however, that, in contrast to France, and not the good fortune of England to possess a certain prestige in foreign policy, he felt that in his relations with the Turkish Government he must, unfortunately, "commencer"—which I took to be M. de Chambrun's method of discounting any doubts that might possibly arise subsequently in my mind owing to the warmth of His Excellency's assurances of the unique affection of France for Turkey, and to the thought that perhaps his intensive pursuit of Turkish affection might not really conduce to our common interests. It was therefore with little surprise that I read the cordial language of the speeches exchanged between his Excellency and the Ghazi or the declaration of the Ambassador to the Constantinople journalists on his return from Angora that Angora was the heart of Turkey and that the French Embassy must for ever be established there. Incidentally, I venture to observe that with Italy prepared to spend over £700,000 on building an Embassy at Angora (see Sir R. Graham's despatch No. 560 of the 3rd August), and the intentions of France as now announced by M. de Chambrun, it becomes more than ever politically important for the results of our more modest building estimates to be granted in the next budget.

3. How far M. de Chambrun will find the Turks prepared to respond to another matter. They know the value of words as well as anyone, and their new-found friendship with Italy, a friendship which the Italians lose no opportunity to emphasise, will tend to make the Turkish Government more intractable in its negotiations with the French. The Ghazi indeed replied in equally cordial terms to M. de Chambrun's speech, but it was significant that the semi-official "Millet" should have chosen the particular day on which the ceremony took place to devote its leading article to the woes of Syria under foreign occupation, and to the need of that suffering country for a Mustafa Kemal. The "Millet" has, in fact, since published a further article eulogising France in general and her new Ambassador in particular; nevertheless it is doubtful whether the Turks will be induced by flattering words alone to give way to the French thesis on the Syrian frontier question.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

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* Not printed.

[E 5053/1223/44] No. 27

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. (Received October 22.)

(No. 453.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 18, 1928.*

THE energy which, as foreshadowed in my despatch No. 404 of the 4th September last, M. Venizelos, the new neutral member, has brought to bear on the problems of the Graco-Turkish Mixed Exchange Commission has involved that body once more in numerous discussions. Together with the French president, M. Holstein, M. Venizelos drew up a sentence for hastening a solution of the questions with which the commission has so long been toying. To anyone conversed in the intricacies of these questions the proposals seem only designed to give immediate effect to existing agreements about "etalas" and the restitution of property or compensation therefor. But the fact that the scheme was welcomed as admirable by the Greeks lends some colour to the contention of the Turks that it left much to be desired on the Turkish side. In any case it brought the third neutral member, General de Lara, hastening back from leave to offer evident and comprehensive protests.

2. According to the views of the Greeks, the chief merit of M. Venizelos's scheme is that it abandons the principle which the Turks insisted on in the old Graco-Turkish accords, namely, to attribute the term "ellinikon" with reference to individuals interchangeably to race and to religion. It is the Greeks' claim that of the some 20,000 Greeks here the Turks say that they are not greatly concerned whether a few thousand more or less Greeks remain in Constantinople. The reason why they object to M. Venizelos's proposal is that it overlooks the feature of the Greek Government to restore the houses of Moslem owners or to provide adequate substitutes instead. They aver that they are perfectly ready to restore the properties here of absentee Turkish citizens as soon as the Greek Government respects the rights of the Moslem proprietors. In short, it is the attitude of the whole Angora Government that the Turks, knowing that the Greeks are legally unable to implement their various undertakings to restore houses, their right to compensation, in order to secure for their Treasury a treasury asset which is possible of the £300,000 earmarked by the Greeks for this purpose, is constantly haggling.

3. Further to meet the Greeks the commission has decided to send a delegation to Western Thrace to enquire on the spot into a situation which the Greeks say it has fallen upon, but of which the Turks say it has been neglected. That any progress will necessarily be made on the delegation's return does not appear. Hope seems to be rather in the forthcoming Graco-Turkish negotiations for which my Greek colleague is about to obtain M. Venizelos's instructions in Athens. A suggestion has been made in the press that Turkey should obtain transit facilities at Dedeagatch, but I cannot say whether the Government seriously desire any such concession. As regards Ismet Pasha's invitation to M. Venizelos the press at first interpreted the Greek Premier's departure, but it now only speaks of the probability of his visiting Angora in spring next. From the Greek delegate on the Mixed Commission I understand that there is at any rate a possibility of M. Venizelos going to Angora unless a settlement is first reached of the problems arising out of the exchange of populations.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5054/5054/44 No. 28

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun. (Received October 22.)

(No. 454.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 18, 1928.*

THE tram strike which has just come to an end here was hopefully described by the local press as a sign of approaching industrial unrest. The engineer of a Belgian concern felt in August that trouble was brewing and consulted the authorities. The engineer were concerned at the possibility of the tramway company

making concessions to its employees which might eventually necessitate similar concessions to employees of the State railways costing more than a million Turkish pounds per annum. But what alarmed the Government still more was the prospect of successful subversive activities. They therefore promised the tram company support in fighting the strike, and they were as good as their word.

2. Some 2,000 men came out on strike on questions of pay and hours. The company at once improvised a tram service under police protection and managed to extend it so quickly that the public were not greatly inconvenienced. The strikers held meetings at which they were careful to cheer the republic and seem never to have mentioned communism. They received contributions from one or two workmen's unions, but at the end of a week they put the case in the hands of the Government and, as the result, the old terms have been maintained and the company will take back only those employees it pleases.

3. There is little doubt that the agitation was provoked from without. The men do not seem to have been seriously underpaid and overworked. Two well-known Turkish agitators were found to have had a hand in the affair and although no proof has been disclosed the natural inference is that its ultimate origin was Moscow. The Turkish Government are anxious as it suits them to offer Russia no control by the Russian Left-wing police protection took no advertent action which could be construed as more than neutral. But in doing only what must have suited well enough their book, it was enabling the company to gain a decisive victory over subversive elements which it was so anxious to assure. The episode is therefore not uninteresting as illustrating Angora's present attitude to Moscow.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5215/16/44 — No. 23

Consul Monck-Mason to Lord Cushendun (*Received November 1*)

(No. 87. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Aleppo, October 23, 1928.*

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Hough's despatch No. 90 of the 17th September, 1926, relative to the prohibition of the entry of foreigners into the Turkish provinces east of the Euphrates, I have the honour to report that Turkish policy has not changed in this respect.

2. The technical staff of the Bezant, Alep Nissibin and Prolongements Railway Company have always been allowed, however, to travel into that part of Turkey on their lawful occasions, being provided with a special vessika or circulation permit by the Turkish Military Commissioner of the railway line. The railway company at Aleppo has now been officially notified by the Turkish Military Commissioner that the Angora Government will shortly close the frontier of the region in question to all members of the railway technical staff not of Turkish nationality for political reasons.

3. This unexpected order, which will immobilise hundreds of the railway staff, has created an embarrassing situation, and the case has been reported to the headquarters of the Bezant, Alep Nissibin and Prolongements Railway Company in Paris with a request that diplomatic action be taken.

4. The Turks are strengthening their military frontier posts in the provinces east of the Euphrates ostensibly with a view to dealing more severely with the Syrian contraband trade.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador, Constantinople; to His Majesty's High Commissioner, Baghdad; and to His Majesty's consular officers at Beirut, Damascus and Mersina.

I have &c.
A. MONCK-MASON.

E 5124/126/44 — No. 28A

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun (*Received October 24*)

(No. 51. Confidential.)
(Telegraph.) Constantinople, October 24, 1928.

YOUR telegram No. 68.

There are three methods of granting financial assistance to Turkey. Broadly speaking these are as follows:

1. Issue of a loan in London or elsewhere on guarantees such as tobacco monopoly revenue or stock exchange. I personally consider that neither guarantees of such kind are sufficient encouragement for anything of the sort. I gather that the Turkish Government have steadily rejected any idea of the kind up to the present.

2. Formation of a company to develop such things as Turkish agriculture or forestry. Turks would probably insist on retaining control of the enterprise and would try to get the best out of it for the least money. This has been the usual Turkish way of squeezing foreign capitalists till all profits [illegible].

3. [illegible] Turkish Government [illegible] hours [illegible] only form of assistance that we [illegible] on condition that [illegible] would be forfeited to us. Many [illegible] would be [illegible] Turkish bills. The [illegible] Turkish system of [illegible] railways now being [illegible] Turkish Government [illegible] Turkish Government. It will [illegible] Turkish Government [illegible] characters [illegible] Ministry of National Defence. It will be easy to meet [illegible] Turkish Government [illegible] with the old Ottoman spirit [illegible] Turks prefer [illegible] deal with [illegible] Powers.

On the other hand, economic destruction should result in assistance to Turkey [illegible] talks or proper conditions [illegible] would become common property [illegible] what is Turkish property. Your telegram has not said what is the nature of the mission proposed [illegible] and I do not know if the present Government [illegible] the fact. But [illegible] Turkish [illegible] dealing with [illegible] spot.

Besides the public debt and the Constantinople loan there are two very unsatisfactory settlements of the telephone company and the Anglo-Turkish Railway. I think that if negotiations took place [illegible] the Turks should be made to realise that until these [illegible] cases are cleared up His Majesty's Government will not very dutifully [illegible] to further British capital in Turkey. I do not however suggest that a settlement of these three cases should be made a condition of any financial assistance. No doubt the Bank of England would find opportunity of assisting on a settlement of the Ottoman case. But Turkish claims to settlement of war losses [illegible] to execute the judgment of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal might also be mentioned as affecting the question of the good faith of the Turkish Government before His Majesty's Government.

E 5151/20/44 — No. 28B

[illegible] (*Received October 27*)

No. [illegible]
(Telegraphic.) P. *Constantinople, October 27, 1928.*

DEPUTATION of British [illegible] Conference [illegible] to protest [illegible] British [illegible] must expect [illegible] Reparative [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

British Chamber of Commerce have no direct evidence of such intention but their information is confirmed by Italian and French Chambers of Commerce, and it is feared that once such claims are admitted by the commission for consideration by Paris commission who are a completely independent body it will be difficult to get decision reversed For this reason deputation begged me to telegraph to your Lordship to ask that protest may if once be lodged in Paris

Deputation pointed out that not only is consideration of admission of claims by concessionary companies definitely and formally excluded by article 6 of the Reparations Convention of 23rd November 1923 but that these claims if admitted would leave little or nothing for legitimate claimants Apart from some advances from the Treasury claimants have been waiting ten years for payment failure to obtain which has inflicted great hardship on many British subjects and caused or crippled many British business interests

[E 5286, 1223/44] No 30

Sir P Loraine to Lord Cushendun —(Received November 5)

(No 406)

My Lord, *Athens, October 24, 1928.*

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been so good as to forward me a copy of his despatch No 453 to your Lordship of the 18th October, on the subject of the difficulties subsisting between Turkey and Greece in connexion with the exchange of populations, and I have the honour to submit the following observations in that connexion

2 I fully agree with the opinion expressed by Sir George Clerk that the solution of these difficulties is far more likely to be found by direct negotiation between the Governments of Angora and Athens, than by the cumbersome and hitherto nearly ineffective activities of the Greco-Turkish Mixed Exchange Commission

3 I am reliably informed that the invitation extended by Ismet Pasha to M Venizelos's successor to visit Angora after M Venizelos's recent tour to the capitals of Italy, France Great Britain and Yugoslavia I understand that the answer returned by M Venizelos was distinctly friendly and conciliatory in tone and was to the effect that while at the moment suggested by Ismet Pasha would not be opportune it was hoped that it would be soon after elections The reasons given by M Venizelos were that the holding of elections in Athens for a large period had to be at once pushed on, and pressing work involved in the Greek Capital which required his personal attention Further that he himself was not fully acquainted with the intricacies of the Greco-Turkish difficulties and that if he came to Angora with an imperfect knowledge of his subject it would hardly be expected that any satisfactory results could be arrived at On the other hand, I gather that he cordially welcomed the spirit in which Ismet Pasha's invitation had been addressed, and expressed genuine anxiety to reach a settlement of the difficulties which is agreed by the two countries to prevent the relations between the two countries from being cordial and friendly

4 My Turkish colleague tells me that in his opinion, the logic and good sense of M Venizelos's reply were unassailable he has not yet had time to study the whole case and is instructed to say that he should not say more at present Djevad Bey contends that one of the main obstacles to a settlement hitherto has been the unscrupulous and even grasping attitude of the Greek technical experts He regards the fact that the Greek Prime Minister has already brought the Greek Minister at Angora to Athens, where his predecessor at Angora, M Tsamados is Director General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and has already had a conference assisted by these two gentlemen in order to get at the root of the difficulties as favourable evidence of the sincerity of M Venizelos's intentions He himself believes that the only effective way of dealing with the subject is to reach an agreement on as many points as possible by direct diplomatic conversations, and then to endeavour by direct contact between M Venizelos and the Angora Government to bridge over the remaining points He admits that, for the sake of reaching agreement sacrifices will have to be made on both sides but he evidently expects that the Greek sacrifices will have to be somewhat heavier than those of his own country The argument which he uses to defend this point of view is that Greece especially because she has a considerable mercantile marine whereas Turkey has practically none stands to gain far more than Turkey from the development of commercial and economic relations between the two countries

5 Djevad Bey did not conceal from me his opinion, which indeed I share that the best chance of a Greco-Turkish settlement lies in its achievement by M Venizelos himself Should M Venizelos fail he regards the outlook as dismal indeed for the future relations of the two countries

6 I have myself formed the impression that M Venizelos is absolutely sincere in his desire to reach a definite settlement with Turkey and I am optimistic enough to think that his personal energy and skill will succeed in overcoming the considerable obstacles which have in recent years blocked the way to a Greco-Turkish understanding

7 I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople

I have, &c
PERCY LORAINE

E 5258 12 44] No. 31

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 462.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 27, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 537 of the 1st instant, requesting my observations on the Board of Trade's letter of the 24th September relative to the proposed new commercial treaty with Turkey.

2. Your Lordship asked for observations in particular in regard to (*a*) the expediency of attempting to convert or liquidate any part of the Turkish tariff in the new treaty, and (*b*) the scope of the suggested consultation between my commercial secretary and His Majesty's Government. I propose to take the latter point first.

3. It was never intended by Colonel Woods that our draft treaty should be submitted to his colleagues for discussion before it was despatched to the Turkish Government. His idea was to elicit, before your Lordship's consent to any advance, how his colleagues would view the suggestion that the Powers interested should endeavour to induce the Turkish Government to start negotiations for a commercial treaty on the basis of a further reduction of the Turkish Government's general tariff pending the coming into force of the new tariff which would be settled as a result of such negotiations.

4. As explained in my despatch No. 460 of the 2nd August last, the object of this suggestion was to explain the reasons of my delay in starting the treaty negotiations with the Turkish Government until I could avoid giving the impression that we were changing our attitude in any way to the disadvantage of the Powers who are able to secure the retention of the system of the Lausanne Treaty and direct relations with Turkey. I think that we should like this our main object to be secured for all Foreign Powers and to gain by acting together at least until the real intentions of the Turks in connection with the new tariff are revealed.

5. As regards the question of attempting to convert or liquidate any part of the Turkish tariff in the new treaty, we seem to have in mind what the Turkish Government's programme of industrial development is and to be desirous of taking such steps as may be practicable to encourage it. It is true that the imports which will be hit hardest by the new tariff will be luxuries and in such manner as to affect less the native industries which have already established themselves or which are likely to be provided in Turkey for some considerable time to come by the natural economic forces of the country. Moreover, it is fairly safe to anticipate that the new Turkish tariff will have definite maximum and minimum rates for every article of importation. Obviously our foreign competitors will endeavour to secure for their manufactures the lowest rates for their chief articles of export into Turkey, and we are generally in a better position to bargain than we were. They will also try to obtain the most favoured nation treatment. Our power to bargain for concessions from Turkey is limited and, in my own impression, it would be an attempt to exercise influence on a part of the new Turkish tariff would be a waste of energy but might actually make our position more difficult. I would therefore base our negotiations on most favoured nation treatment only, but such concession from Turkey on this is a matter of course. There is, however, no reason why we should not have most favoured articles on which we desire special rates of duty, as the course of negotiations may show that the Turks realise both our value as a market for such things as our manufactured carpets and the fact that the application of low rates of duty into Turkey of many of our manufactured articles which Turkey cannot hope to produce herself for many years to come will assist the development and prosperity of the country. I would hardly venture to suggest that the Board of Trade should be asked to draw up a list of such articles or of such articles as seem feasible.

6. To return to the question of the actual opening of negotiations. I am of the opinion that once we have formally invited the Turkish Government to start discussions we should urge the other Powers to do the same in their communications. Reports are contradictory as to the intention of the Turkish Government itself. One rumour is that the Turkish Government wish the first negotiations to be with Italy and would be ready for them to take place at home. Another report is to the effect that the Turkish Government wishes to open negotiations with the United States of America first. I fancy that the French commercial secretary hopes that the French negotiations will be the first, and the German commercial secretary is in favour of his discussions taking place at Angora. These points will become clear in due course, and I will only observe that if the Turks are willing to negotiate at Rome and in Paris, there would seem considerable advantage in getting them if possible to negotiate with us in London.

7. The Board of Trade further raise the question of the Residence Convention, and are of opinion that we should be well-advised to endeavour to include in the treaty all the questions of establishment covered in our ordinary commercial treaties, at the same time renouncing our rights under the Lausanne Residence Convention. From the practical point of view I welcome this proposal because the sooner we know the conditions under which British subjects will be able to reside in Turkey the better. Moreover, if we can propose to the Turkish Government a draft commercial treaty modelled upon our treaties with great Powers and including articles dealing with residence, business, consulates &c., it would probably be easier to negotiate that than a separate residence agreement, though presumably the other principal signatories to the Lausanne Residence Convention ought to be notified, if not consulted before we inform the Turkish Government of our willingness to give up our rights thereunder. I would accordingly suggest that any draft treaty which the Board of Trade prepares should include clauses to cover these points.

8. As I read the letter of the Board of Trade it is not intended that such matters as schools, hospitals, release on bail &c. should be included in the commercial treaty. It would in many ways be a convenient if we could have one general comprehensive agreement including all these matters. But if this is not possible for any technical reasons, or because the Turkish Government would not be willing to include such matters in the commercial treaty, we should, I think, endeavour to obtain these separate points *pari passu* with the negotiations of the commercial treaty. Whether the resultant agreements should be in the form of a treaty or of an exchange of notes is perhaps of less importance.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5378 43 44

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 12.)

(No. 472.)

My Lord, *Angora, October 31, 1928.*

DURING my stay here to attend the annual celebrations of the birth of the Turkish Republic I have had interviews with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the President of the Council.

2. In neither case had I any outstanding questions of importance to discuss. The Minister for Foreign Affairs evoked an ingenious argument for refusing to accord to Palestine the benefits of the Commercial Convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne, on which point I am addressing a separate despatch to your Lordship, while my interview with Ismet Pasha was mostly devoted to an effort to save the Constantinople golf course on which the local soldiery have lost eaten eyes.

3. I should therefore not have troubled your Lordship with this report were it not that I feel that I should record the remarkable cordiality and friendliness shown by both Ministers. They both, Fewik Rushdi especially, emphasised their irritation with the French attitude in Syria, an attitude which they said compared most unfavourably with our loyalty to Iraq, and this frame of mind may account to some extent for their expressions of goodwill, but otherwise I believe that both the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister were genuinely trying to voice their pleasure at the satisfactory development of the relations between the two countries. At any rate there was a flavour of what they said being gratitude for possible favours to come. Have you not received your Lordship's telegram No. 68 of the 22nd October? I gave both Ministers to understand that I was in despatches for orders in London, but neither of them pressed for work in that sense.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5382 127, 44]

No 53

Sir G Clerk to Lord Cushendun—(Received November 12)

(No 479.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, November 6, 1928

WITH reference to my despatch No 408 of the 5th September last, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reporting upon Russian activities in his consular district

2 The penetration of North Eastern Anatolia by Russian consular and commercial agents where Russian residents are conspicuously absent and trade insignificant is no doubt part and parcel of the aims and methods of the Soviet Government in the Near East Whether the results in North Eastern Anatolia are successful appears from Mr Matthews despatch to be doubtful

3 The Turks are always ready to give outward expression to their love for Moscow Thus though the Ghazi made scant reference to Turkish relations with Russia in his speech to the Assembly on the 1st November the semi official "Milliet" came out two days later with a leading article written by its editor emphasising the happy relations of the two countries and the fact that their mutual economic development was one of the essential principles of Turkey's foreign policy Similarly the local press has made much of the fact that M Sourritz took the opportunity of Dependence Day to send his card with congratulatory telegrams to all the Deputies of the Assembly and has expressed itself in unchecked by the delicacy of the Soviet Government in covering the installation of a monumental Sebastopol commemorating the conquest of the Crimea perhaps not realising that this action was probably far more to hatred of Great Britain than affection for Turkey Moreover Yunus Nadi the editor of the 'Jumhuriet' has just devoted a number of articles to a visit he recently paid to Moscow where he was evidently to his own account received with every mark of friendship and respect by MM Rykov Lunatcharsky Karakhan and others, and where he returned Kemal pasha for the present Russian régime But all this eulogy is lip service while Yunus Nadi's venality and anti British service is being like proverbial oil unnecessary to attach exaggerated importance to his utterances Turkey wishes both to Russia and can afford to offend the Soviet Government but bolshevism has no more determined opponents than the Turks

I have &c.

GEORGE R CLERK

Enclosure 1 in No 53

Consul Matthews to Sir G Clerk

(No 82 Confidential)

Sir

Trebizond, October 22, 1928

I HAVE the honour to transmit the following observations on Russian activities in this district

2 The Russians have at Trebizond a consulate general, the official staff of which includes in addition to Comrade Ettingoff the consul-general an interpreter and three secretaries The members of the staff live together with their wives and children in a large building in the centre of the town, belonging to a Russian subject of Greek origin named Theophylactos who is believed to reside in Constantinople In summer they occupy the former summer residence of a Russian subject named Kapayanides, which is situated in the suburb of Souk Su on a hill to the south west of the town They have also a trade delegation directed by a Russian subject named Sgoroff, who has a staff of two clerks of local origin but of Russian nationality The Russians maintain a consulate general at Erzerum, which is at present in charge of a consul named Martsinski assisted by an interpreter and two secretaries as well as a trade delegation the staff of which consists of three Russians and a Persian They have a consulate at Kars and are believed to have a consulate or vice consulate at Artvin At Samsun they have a trade delegation but no consulate at present They are stated to be desirous of opening a consulate at Kotyora and to have considered the question of establishing a trade delegation at Rizeh and decided not to do so

3 The imposing consular and commercial "representation" of Russia in North-Eastern Turkey makes other countries look small The Persians have a consulate general at Erzerum and a consulate at Trebizond, the French have consulates at Trebizond and Samsun, while we, the Italians and the Germans have each a consulate at Trebizond The Russians have to-day a more numerous body of official consular and commercial representatives in this region than they had before the Great War This appears all the more remarkable, as prior to the Great War other countries such as the United Kingdom and France had consulates at Erzerum At present Russia and Persia are the only countries officially represented in that town while Russia is alone in having consular representatives at Kars and Artvin

4 Apart from the staffs of the Russian consulates and trade delegations there appear to be no residents of Russian nationality in this district There are considerable numbers of residents of Russian origin but now of Turkish nationality the great majority of whom are Moslem refugees from the Caucasus, the remainder being White Russian refugees

5 The Russian revival in trade between Russia and this part of Turkey does not as yet exist During the last few years trade has somewhat revived but it is still insignificant as compared with pre war trade Mineral oils wheat and rye are the only articles exported to Russia Efforts have been made to establish other connections including manufactured goods but although long credits have been granted the trade of the delegations little business has been done Whether it is to be expected that the supplies of the Trebizond Chamber of Commerce regarding Russian imports into Trebizond during the period from July 1927 to the end of April 1928 are to March last two Russian merchant steamships the 'Odessa' of about 1,000 tons, and the 'Troitsk,' of 342 tons have visited Trebizond on seven occasions The 'Odessa' has carried cargoes of oil, and has evidently been specially arranged for carrying a mixed crew of men and women The exports to Russia from this district consisting mainly of fruit from Rizeh and Ordu are small

6 Local agents both foreign and native believe that the Russian consular and trade representatives in this district are engaged actively in espionage and the diffusion of Soviet propaganda Such activities are carried on principally underground but the usual attributes of espionage are not lacking

7 It is known that some seventy Turkish subjects resident in this district receive monthly or quarterly remittances from Moscow through the Ottoman Bank There is reason for believing that these remittances are in the main *bonâ fide* contributions to their relatives or dependents from Turks who have proceeded to Russia in search of work At the same time there is little doubt that some of these remittances represent salaries paid to Russian agents

8 Last spring a Communist organisation was discovered at Kars, and a number of persons including Ibrahim Effendi, an ex president of the municipality of Kars were arrested The case against them was either not strong or Russian influence was exerted on their behalf, for they were released on bail and proceedings were subsequently dropped

9 A number of military officers of the garrison of Kars were arrested in July last on a charge of having sold important military documents to Russian agents connected with the Russian consulate at Kars They were taken to Sari Kamah where an enquiry was held the result of which has not yet transpired

10 In this connexion it may be mentioned that a Russian cruiser was observed off Trebizond on the 12th June last and a Russian destroyer on the 22nd and 24th August last Whatever the reason of their appearance may have been, it was regarded locally as a threatening and unfriendly act

11 The local Russian consular representatives spend money freely in various directions For example Comrade Ettingoff the consul-general at Trebizond gave a dinner party on New Year's Eve 1927 28 attended by many leading local Turks including the Vali which did not come to an end until much champagne and brandy had been consumed and daylight was near A former Vali of Erzerum Zuhdi Bey who is at present one of the Deputies of Konia was unable to resist hospitality of this kind afforded by the Russian consulate general at Erzerum and his position became so compromised that he was forced to resign

12 Russian consular representatives also spend money on the exhibition of propaganda films at local cinemas and on articles in the local press They make absurd accusations against Great Britain such as of fomenting disorder in this country, of which I quoted an example in my despatch No 32 of the 27th April last

13. In conversation with me Ismet Turks have referred contemptuously to propaganda of the kind mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs and the effect of such propaganda may be easily exaggerated. It can produce little effect on the lower classes of ignorant and patriotic Turks of the educated class.

I have &c.
W. D. W. MATTHEWS

Enclosure 2 in No. 31

Statement of Imports and Exports of Merchandise for the Year 1927 as per Trade Returns

Articles	Kilogs.
Petrol	528 770
Benzine	226 100
Kerosene	31 349
Mineral oil	19 770
Rice	6 713
Hardware	1 343 599
Paper	113 682
Cotton	200 000
[illegible]	[illegible]
Sugar	11 100
[illegible]	[illegible]
Chemicals	77
	2 000 27

E 5383/128/44 No. 31

Sir C. Clerk to Lord Cushendun (*Received November 1*)

(No. 52)

Angora, October 30, 1928.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday together with four members of my staff I had an audience of the President of the Republic of the Turkish Republic.

The ceremony took place in the President's reception room in the building of the Grand National Assembly where the Ghazi received the President of the Assembly, whom Mustafa Kemal Pasha presented to the Diplomatic Corps, and they then proceeded to the throne. I had the honour of being presented after the Papal Nuncio and the Ambassador of France, and was then invited to sit down for our reception. The Ghazi's reply was only remarkable by what he did not say, which was that the foreign missions were the last to be received was already taken for granted as a matter of course and not worthy of comment, as it was in Constantinople before the Revolution.

The speech mostly dealt with the progress of the country in various directions, and the Ghazi's statements on the primary and secondary schools and reports of visits of inspection, all of which, with the exception of the final sentences of two paragraphs, which I will quote further on, were taken from the speech which he delivered at the opening of the Grand National Assembly at Angora on the 1st November last, appeared to me to be the most interesting. The following are the passages which struck me most:—

"The Turkish nation has always been the champion of liberty and independence. It has never allowed any foreign power to interfere in its internal affairs. It has never accepted any kind of tutelage or protection. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of control over it. It has never allowed any foreign power to impose its will upon it. It has never allowed any foreign power to dictate to it. It has never allowed any foreign power to occupy any part of its territory. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military base on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of naval base on its coast. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of air base on its territory. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military mission on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military advisory group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military training mission on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military assistance group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military liaison group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military observer group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military inspection group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military supply group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military transport group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military medical group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military chaplain group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military band group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military sports group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military recreation group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military welfare group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military education group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military research group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military development group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military production group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military maintenance group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military repair group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military storage group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military distribution group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military sales group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military purchasing group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military contracting group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military financial group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military legal group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military public relations group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military intelligence group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military counterintelligence group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military security group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military police group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military fire group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military rescue group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military salvage group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military demolition group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military engineering group on its soil. It has never allowed any foreign power to establish any kind of military construction

[E 5385/128/44] No. 36.

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 12.)

(No. 484.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 8, 1928.*

FROM occasional notices in the press, it would appear that the present Kurdish policy of the Government, with which I dealt in my despatch No. 384 of the 14th August last, is having a certain measure of success.

2. During the summer the authorities continued to send back to Kurdistan families which had been deported to Western Anatolia. Later on, as your Lordship will be aware from information received from Baghdad, two sons of Sheikh Said, a brother of Said Fehmi, and other Kurdish chiefs who had taken refuge in Iraq, crossed the frontier and made their submission to the Turkish authorities. Another indication of a better state of things was the tour which Ibrahim Tali Bey, the inspector-general, made as far north as Van and Bitlis in September last, a venture which he could hardly have risked a year ago.

3. Still, in spite of the claim of the Government that all is quiet and normal in the eastern districts, there is difficulty in finding doctors, teachers and other officials to proceed there. A reform of obvious wisdom, which has at last been started, is the construction of a system of roads. A road from Khorpat to Erzinjan, which will start through the Dersim country, has already been begun, and another is to be made at once between Ovajik and Hozat. The inspector-general declares that the whole new road system will be finished in three or four years, and that Van will be brought within five days of Angora. It is the necessities of Kurdistan which, so far, have baffled the Turkish administrator. As roads are extended eastwards the Kurds will come under more constant authority, and Turkish officials, in their part, will get a truer understanding of the special problems of the Kurdish districts. Among such problems is that of land tenure, and with this the Turkish Government proposes to deal by breaking up the large estates of the chiefs and distributing them among the tribesmen.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner for Iraq at Baghdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5483/128/44] No. 37.

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 19.)

(No. 489.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 14, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a despatch from the acting British consul at Trebizond reporting his conversations with the local representative of the People's party who, far more than the Vali, is the chief authority and the leading spirit in the place.

2. What Shevket Bey told Mr. Were of the Government's programme is, I believe, highly true. The law introducing Latin characters has, as I have reported already, been passed. A Bill to make Sunday the legal day of rest was, according to the press, read at Angora by a Constantinople merchant Deputy a few days ago for discussion in due course, and it would appear to be only a matter of time before it becomes law. Whether the Government rather than use compulsion, will not leave the introduction of hats to the surer if slower influence of a fashion which has already begun I cannot say. The new Municipalities Law, which is understood to be ready for submission to the Assembly will, I trust, benefit British owners of property both at Smyrna and elsewhere, but I have not had an opportunity of examining its text.

3. Half in joke speaking to someone else than the subject of Russia, Shevket Bey might have said that while Turks must use Communism inside Turkey they did not at all regret the support they derived from Moscow when breaking away from European control. But Shevket Bey's remarks about internal policy gave a full scope of his beliefs of those who mean to modernise this country.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 37.

Acting Consul Were to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 86.)

Sir, *Trebizond, November 5, 1928.*

IN my despatch No. 84 of the 30th October last I had occasion to refer to Shevket Bey, Deputy for Gumush-khanch and an inspector of the People's party. I have now had the opportunity of ascertaining his views on various matters relating to the government and administration of this country and on the probable course of legislation during the current session of the Grand Assembly. I have no reason to suppose that he has greater authority to speak of the future than any other of his fellow Deputies. But I venture, nevertheless, to hope that the ensuing summary of his views will prove interesting if not informative to your Excellency.

2. Shevket Bey asserts that various measures for the further modernisation of the Turkish people are being studied by the Government, but that pressure of work has prevented the various commissions and sub-commissions appointed for the purpose from making as rapid progress as might have been wished. Certain things were proceeding smoothly if slowly.

3. The first act of the new Assembly was one to pass the necessary legislation to give effect to the introduction of Latin characters, the which Shevket Bey refers to [illegible] which, as would be followed by a modification of the law relating to the week-day of rest which, it was intended, would fall on the Sunday. Next in order would come the legislation with the object of [illegible] of the country's still effective descriptive and retrospective [illegible] of local [illegible] and customs which have been introduced. Here this had not been for certain [illegible] and economic considerations, for said Shevket Bey, it was [illegible] knowledge that Turkish women and men of how to dress and it was, therefore, advisable to postpone any action until the latter had acquired some elementary notions of the subject. More specifically the deterrent was the prospect of the expert of considerable capital for purchase of the necessary fibres.

4. The Municipalities Law now [illegible] out of date, would shortly be amended in accordance with the requirements of the present day. All presidents of municipalities of the old regime would be placed on the retired list and would be succeeded by intelligent leaders, thus Kiazim Hasan, president of the Trebizond Municipality, had been called upon to resign, and his successor would shortly be appointed.

5. Turkey had no use for Russia and Russian communist experiments. While Turkey was flooded with Russian goods and vast sums of Russian money were being spent in Turkey and elsewhere on anti-British propaganda, the Russian people lacked the most essential foodstuffs and clothes. The changes in Turkey were inspired by the English and French revolutions of 1652 and 1793.

6. Asked whether he did not anticipate that the introduction of the innovations he contemplated would cause considerable discontent and would meet with much passive resistance in this somewhat backward and conservative district, he replied that there could be no progress without an element of discomfort, and that if necessary acceptance of the reforms would be enforced by physical force.

7. It will be seen that Shevket Bey is a firm believer in the doctrine of compulsory liberty, basing himself on the conviction that his constituents are so many sheep unable to judge of what is good for them, and that he and his colleagues of the National Assembly are competent shepherds. If Shevket Bey is a typical Turkish Deputy, and I am inclined to think he is, I venture to think that the latter part of his belief is fallacious. He is truculent and forceful, but knowing no language but Turkish he has no real acquaintance with the history of the gradual development of the Western civilisation which he aspires to impose upon his fellow-countrymen, and fails to see that the hasty and arbitrary imposition of reforms is destructive not only of any liberty of thought but also of any incentive thereto, and merely serves to perpetuate the inertia which was the bane of the old Ottoman Empire.

I have, &c.
C. A. WERE.

[E 5618/2741/44] No. 38

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 494)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 19, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in accordance with the practice of previous years, the President of the Council took an early opportunity of giving to the Assembly an account of the Government's activities during the past year and of its programme and intentions for the future.

2. Ismet Pasha's speech consisted of a summary of the Government's activities in the economic sphere, dealing mainly with the measures taken for the alleviation of distress in those regions which suffered so severely as the result of the serious drought in the autumn of 1927 and the unfavourable climatic conditions during the spring and summer of this year. Particular reference was made to works of irrigation which were taken in hand during the end of the last financial year, and to the necessity of developing further schemes of this nature in order not only to safeguard agriculture against disaster but to intensify it throughout the country.

3. Ismet Pasha referred to the improvement in agriculture conditions which it was hoped would be effected in those districts in Anatolia in which the Government had been able, with the extremely restricted credits available, to carry out irrigation and road-making works during the past year, and he then pointed out the Assembly with most laudable candour the measures necessary to accomplish the ambitious schemes of the same kind now in course of preparation.

4. According to the Prime Minister a sum of £T 200 millions is necessary in order to carry out the programme of the Government in regard to irrigation and reclamation. It is at first sight difficult to understand how this sum, be it ever so great, can be spent in a period of ten years. It is proposed that this sum be met from the surplus of the budget, which should accordingly, Ismet Pasha states, in three years' time, approximate £T 10 millions per annum.

5. Although the financial conditions are reported to be most favourable and the treasury overflowing, the Turkish Government continues to refuse large credits for public works. The budget of the Ministry of Public Works for the current financial year amounted to £T 32 71 795, whilst for the coming financial year the estimate is £T 50 616 738 will be laid before the Assembly. How far this additional sum is to be met from the surplus of the budget of the present year remains to be seen, for detailed estimates of revenue are not yet available. But if increased expenditure is to be met by an increase in revenue and not by reductions in the military and other votes, it is difficult to see where the increased allocation to the Ministry of Public Works is to be found.

6. The remainder of the Prime Minister's speech was devoted to the necessity for centralising and co-ordinating the construction of roads throughout the country and to the readiness of the Government to deliberate locally with foreign groups undertaking works of public utility in Turkey provided such groups were in their turn prepared to respect the terms of their contracts. Finally Ismet Pasha stated that it had been decided to take in hand within the next twelve months the organisation of a State line.

7. Only a passing reference was made in the speech to the question of railway construction. The position in this respect has not changed to any very great extent since my despatch No. 388 of the 10th August last was written. Messrs. Fox Brothers International Corporation have so far failed to obtain the contract for the remainder of the lapsed Belgian agreement; but on the other hand it is reported that their negotiations relative to port construction are progressing satisfactorily with the Ministry of Public Works. As the result an agreement is likely to be signed at an early date for the construction of ports at Samsun and Mersina which are at present practically open roadsteads.

8. Moreover Messrs. Fox Brothers International Corporation are also taking a lively interest in the proposed irrigation schemes and have already submitted proposals to the Government relative thereto. The commercial secretary to this Embassy also learns that a French American consortium will shortly be making proposals to the Government also for irrigation works and no doubt the Germans will appear in the field in the same connexion.

9. As regards the attitude to be adopted towards the proposed participation of British capital in public works enterprises in Turkey, there is nothing that I can usefully add to the views expressed in my telegram No. 51 of the 24th October last. If the Turkish Government can be induced to come to an arrangement whereby the payment for work carried out is made as such work progresses, or is covered by short-term bills falling due within the same year or during the following year, the element of risk is reduced to legitimate dimensions and operations on this basis should, I think, be encouraged, provided that they carry the condition that British material and labour is supplied. But as regards any proposal involving the acceptance of Turkish Government bonds maturing in five or ten years I cannot express the same degree of confidence owing to the difficulties that lie in the way of establishing a true picture of the Turkish Government's financial position. I would, as already stated in my telegram, welcome the visit to Turkey of a mission of investigation interested in public works undertakings, particularly if representatives of well-established British firms interested in irrigation and other works accompanied the mission.

10. There is no doubt that the Turkish Government would be glad to receive overtures from well-established public works contractors and constructional engineers for railway, irrigation and other schemes. But the rock on which the negotiations are likely to split is that although the Government may in the case of a British firm of good reputation be prepared to offer a form of security other than my proposed hypothecation.

11. One of the main arguments which will be used by the Turkish Government since the assumption of the present regime there have been low-interesting bonds and no assets against which bonds have been created by an intermediary who, it is claimed, is the real beneficiary of all business. I consider that the Government is bound to fulfil its obligations. The question of the resuscitation of Turkish credit, which the repeated but unsuccessful attempts of Turkish financiers during the past year to represent a Turkish-Swiss group of financiers with the Ismet Government and the Turkish Bolshevik Government, both the latest development, and the failure of the Belgian negotiations further cast a pall of the majority of the overtures of the Government during the past four or five years and in spite of the repeated requests in the press to the effect that foreign groups are prepared to invest money in this country. I have not failed to emphasise favourable representations held out to foreign enterprise and investment.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5619/230/89 No. 39

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 497)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 20, 1928*

THE French Ambassador who broke his sojourn at Angora in order to attend the French armistice celebrations here was good enough to call upon me on the eve of his return to the capital, to give me a confidential account of the present stage of his negotiations regarding the Turco-Syrian frontier.

2. M. de Chambrun said that his instructions from Paris were explicit, not to budge an inch from the frontier line laid down by the commission under General Ernst. Nevertheless, if he found in the course of his discussions with Tewfik Rushdi Bey that an agreement could be reached by some slight concession on the part of France he intended to urge his Government to yield to that extent. M. de Chambrun appears to have discovered near Nissibin some Kurdish villages which he is ready to cede to the Turks, a sacrifice which may prove less welcome than he anticipates to both Turks and Kurds.

3. M. de Chambrun had no exaggerated hopes of an immediately successful issue to his negotiations, and was prepared for the moment when it would be necessary to admit that agreement was not at present possible and to suggest that the question should be left in abeyance for a few months. His only fear was that during this interval the Turks might work up a serious incident, but, as I said to him, I think that they are too intelligent to create a situation which would render it impossible for the French Government to make any concessions at all.

4. M. de Chambrun said that he had told me everything that was in his mind, for one reason, because he meant to be always completely open with me and for another because he would welcome any views of mine as to the wisdom of the line he was adopting.

5. I replied that I duly reciprocated his desire for complete frankness between us and would answer him in that spirit. Naturally I looked upon his discussions

with the Turkish Government from a more general point of view than he could perhaps do. So far as I could gauge the present trend of Turkish policy one of its objects seemed to be the formation of what I might call a Central Eastern *bloc*, consisting of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, with the direction thereof firmly settled at Angora. I did not even shut out of the possibility of there being a vague idea of the eventual inclusion of the Georgians. So long as the British and French mandates over Iraq and Syria existed Turkey had not a free hand, but these mandates would not last for ever, and she was probably working for the day when they expired. There was not necessarily any aggressive intention underlying this Turkish conception, which might almost be called a natural effort on the part of Turkey to consolidate her position, not indeed needing to be altogether disadvantageous to either of our two countries, should our relations with Turkey remain friendly and cordial. Most of the fuss the Turks were making over the Syrian frontier seemed therefore to be designed with an eye to the eventual exercise of French influence over a nominally independent Syria.

6. To come to the concrete question of the actual point at issue between Mr. Monck-Mason and Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Nisibin-Jezireh frontier line, there seemed to me two reasons for the unusually intense anxiety of the Turks to obtain a few square miles, which I gathered was entirely stoutly asserted. It was very important that the Turks should prefer the cutting from Nisibin to Kamishli at the junction of the Tigris and the Khabur River rather than to Jezireh, and they might hope by working up Kurdish agitation to obtain such a concession from Irak. Alternatively, as Mr. de Chastenay had, I believe, himself already noticed, hints were frequently appearing in the press to the effect that the Euphrates-Syrian line, the west was inevitable. I enclose a copy of a further virulent article* by Yunus Nadi Bey in the Republique of the 20th November of this nature and I would refer to the second paragraph of Mr. Knox's despatch No. 150 of the 7th March last. It might be that Tewfik Rushdi Bey was in reserving for a position where he could suggest that as the Nisibin-Jezireh frontier was intolerable some compensation for the Turks could perhaps be found in the interests of general good relations to the west.

7. In my case, so far as I could form the opinion went, his Excellency was well aware that as his intention to keep the present discussion strictly confined to its original limits while prepared to offer at the suitable moment all His Government allowed him to concede slight concessions which he had mentioned to me. I have no doubt that his Excellency would not let himself be too much perturbed by the attacks on Irak in the press, the purpose of which was obvious.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5621/128/44 — No. 40

Sir G. Clerk to L. of C. Austen Chamberlain — *Received November 26*

(No. 760)

His Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his respectful compliments to His Majesty's Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 180 from His Majesty's Consul-General Smyrna, dated the 19th November, reporting local unrest with the Turkish Government.

Constantinople, November 22, 1928.

Enclosure in No. 40.

Consul-General Morgan to Sir G. Clerk

(No. 180)

Sir, *Smyrna, November 19, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that there are indications that not all Turks in Smyrna and Turkey endure the present dictatorship, prefer to join in the hearty and well-behaved applause which greets every new enactment of the Government.

2. The only press outlet now is to disagree under the name of "foreign propaganda" all symptoms of discontent. Thus labour grievances are labelled

* Not printed.

"Communism," and religious grievances are called "Bahaism." The population are told that Turkey has not suppressed the conservatives, in the interests of progress, to make way for the foreign sect of the Bahais, and are warned of the danger of belonging to secret societies, with special reference to Freemasonry and the Order of Bektashis.

3. The press does not grow over-excited in its denunciation of Communism or Bahaism, and thus indicates that it considers the danger from these two theories as unreal or as insignificant.

4. Recently posters appeared in the Turkish quarter of the town expressing indignation with the present Government of "leeches," and denouncing the Popular party on the ground that the people have no representation in or at the Chamber of Deputies, and are being fleeced for all Turks. No news of this has appeared in the press, as it is obviously too important a matter to be left to the general public. The police have not been able to discover the authors, and are still searching for them.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 5738/128/44 — No. 41

Mr. Edmonds to Sir A. Chamberlain — *Received December 3*

(No. 502)

My Lord, *Angora, November 26, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch No. 49 of the 20th November which I have received from His Majesty's Consul at Mersina, dealing specially with the escape from Cæsarea into Syria of Mr. Lisa Hussein Pasha which formed the subject of Aleppo despatch No. 45 of the 17th October to the High Commissioner for Iraq. A copy of this latter despatch was sent by Mr. Monck-Mason direct to the Foreign Office.

2. While Mr. Clerk's information regarding the escape of Hussein Pasha is not without interest, it is to the later paragraphs of this despatch that I crave to invite your lordship's particular attention. With the beginning of winter, when many absent possibly by the restrictions now in force, branch managers of the Ottoman Bank with a variety of useful sources of information at their disposal, are in an exceptional position to gauge the Kurdish situation, and it is therefore of interest that confirmation should be received from such a source of the opinion expressed in Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 184 of the 8th November, that the present Kurdish policy of the Turkish Government is having a certain measure of success and that the Turkanisation of the eastern provinces is proceeding gradually. That the Sheikh Said rebellion which barely three years ago threatened the very stability of the Turkish Government should to-day constitute the theme for a threatened representation by Turkey even for the purpose of an objection is also not without significance. The views of certain Kurdish politicians in Irak mentioned in a report which has doubtless reached your Lordship's but of which I nevertheless enclose a copy* to the effect that the Turks' present Kurdish policy has failed hopelessly, is perhaps not wholly inconsistent with the opinion that from the point of view of the Turkish Government that policy is beginning to succeed.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Baghdad.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 41

Consul Chaffey to Mr. Edmonds

(No. 49)

Sir, *Mersina, November 20, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to refer to Mr. Consul Monck-Mason's despatch from Aleppo of which copies were sent to the Embassy at Constantinople and to this Consulate by His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq, No. 45 of the 17th instant.

* Not given.

reative to Mir Liva Hussein Pasha, a Kurdish exile who escaped from Caesarea to Syria

2 When in Caesarea recently I learnt of the escape thence about two months ago of an important exile Kurdish Pasha, who I presume to be the same person It appears that he first gave his parole was allowed to move freely about the town, and behaved in an exemplary manner to avert suspicion and then suddenly made a dash and succeeded in escaping with a band of chosen companions I was told that the Grazi was so furious that he cut out as a sign of his disapproval a visit he was to have paid about that time to Caesarea in anticipation of which a flower garden was hastily laid out in the grounds of his unfinished villa, and of course beat the chief of police removed

3 I gathered that other minor Kurdish exiles in Caesarea had before been allowed to go home The deputy manager of the Ottoman Bank in Caesarea who was before in Ourfa and Diarbekir knows the Kurds very well was that real trouble in Kurdistan is now over and that the Kurdish clans who keep warring among themselves will never now succeed in combining to resist Turkish rule He had no news of recent trouble in Kurdistan

4 The bank manager also told me what is doubtless known to the Embassy namely, that all non Turkish staff including foreign and local managers have been removed from the Ottoman Bank's branches in the Turkish frontier regions such as Erzerum Bulanik Elaziz Diarbekir Ourfa and Aintab He said the bank's business at those places is at present declining

5 That the Turkish Government believes or wishes to make the people believe that the Kurdish revolt was a communist thing of the past is seen by a very clever propaganda play which I saw in Mersina two nights ago performed by a travelling Turkish theatrical troupe from Constantinople The scene was a Turkish work of art of the Sheikh Said rebellion as a past history episode is staged for the object lesson A house packed to suffocation daily suffers but the old dilapidated interior of these Turkish old world houses and roofed with gorgeously painted ceilings is soon rebuilt Amidst jerks and the cries of the children who are supported by some cunning device Robinson contrivance round the waist, finally appeared before their eyes daughter by the neck from his gibbet The authorities must have been delighted to see the local villagers and Turkish citizens who include many Kurds laugh so heartily and spontaneously at this great little effort

I have &c
R E W CHAEY

E 5740 43 44 No 42

Mr Edmonds to Lord Cushendun (Received December 3)

(No 504)
My Lord *Angora November 26 1928*

I HAVE the honour to report that according to the local press, Signor Grandi, the Italian Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will shortly pay an official visit to Angora

2 I have received confirmation of this report from the Italian Embassy The visit is said to be of no political importance the object merely being to return, on behalf of Signor Mussolini the visit paid to him in Rome by Tewfik Rushdi Bey last spring on his return from the Preparatory Disarmament Conference at Geneva According to present arrangements Signor Grandi will arrive here towards the end of December and will stay two or three days It is further stated that Signor Grandi will pay an official visit to M Venizelos on his journey to or from Turkey

3 I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Rome and Athens

I have &c
W S EDMONDS

E 5741/560/44 No 41

Mr Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received December 3)

(No 506 Confidential)
Sir *Angora, November 27, 1928*

IT might well be thought that the introduction of compulsory education in Turkey and the adoption of the new alphabet would have more than satisfied the present appetite of the Turkish Government for changes and reforms but, as information which has just been given to Mr Clerk's staff and I have every reason to credit it this is not true being the case The further step is now under contemplation will at the least affect a great percentage of the population of this country but if carried out it is one of great importance and envisages the ultimate abandonment of French as the chief foreign language to be taught in Turkish secondary schools and its replacement by English

2 The source of this information is Jalal Rifki Bey Director General of Education, a Member of Parliament and a person of the highest importance who has long been president of the committee which was responsible for the introduction of the new alphabet and who is respectable and trustworthy Mr Clerk's staff and I have now for what the saying is worth had a conversation with the Embassy staff the occasion being the opening of the English reading room of the Turkish Hearth Society which was attended by Jalal Rifki Bey and other members of the Turkish Government and by a number of Deputies and other notabilities Jalal Rifki Bey who was known to speak English very well was observed to be conversing with a group of Deputies and officials in that language and on my asking him what was the subject of the conversation he replied that he was telling them that the future of Turkey depended on the number of people who could speak English and how necessary it was that the rising generation should learn English Jalal Rifki Bey then stated that the desire of people to learn English was so great that it was thought necessary to make provision for it in the schools and that he was in favour of the introduction of English as the chief foreign language to be taught in Turkish secondary schools in place of French

3 It would of course be premature to attempt to estimate the significance of this statement at present but it is nevertheless a fact that Jalal Rifki Bey is a person of importance and influence in the Government party and that his statement is in accordance with the general feeling of the Turkish people as I have had occasion to observe it during my residence in Turkey Jalal Rifki Bey did not definitely ask for the assistance of His Majesty's Embassy in the matter of the introduction of English but he did hint at it and Mr Clerk informed him that any approach to the Embassy would be only too pleased to render the Turkish Government all possible assistance

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to work for the spread in Turkey of the English language, of which he himself does not speak a word. He is in close touch with the Ghazi and it was certainly not without the approval of the latter that last winter he published in the semi-official newspaper a series of articles in which he preached the desirability of the adoption of English as the first foreign language in Turkey. To his efforts the recent decision must be largely due and he now says that in order to obtain fresh ammunition for his campaign, he will proceed next summer on an official mission to the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain and America.

4. As suggested above, this reform has been prompted by a desire for material advantages. But if it is persisted with it may have considerable moral effects for the Turkish character. I have not the space to go into this question at length, but I believe Turkey is more kindly to Anglo-Saxon than to Latin culture, which with the Turks is rarely more than a veneer. The most obvious palpable effect is that French susceptibilities will be steadily injured and that seems to be why the Turkish Government is keeping the scheme dark at present. For French economic interests are deeply entrenched here. Their position has, it is true, been considerably shaken in recent years, as for instance by the regulations forbidding religious teaching in Turkish schools in Turkey, but even so it is still strong. Of Turks who know a foreign language to-day the vast majority know only French and for one who can speak English I will have some acquaintance with France. We, on the other hand, are often misunderstood in politics and always handicapped in trade. For our part therefore we can only welcome the prospect of greater intercourse.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

E 5742/43/44 No. 41

Mr. Edmonds (No. 507) to Austen Chamberlain. — *Received December 31.*

(No. 507.)
Sir, *Angora, November 27, 1928.*

THE Turkish press has recently published an interview granted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Bulgarian semi-official paper the 'Bulgarie' in which his Excellency reviewed the relations of Turkey with a number of foreign countries. I have the honour to enclose herewith a summary of this interview which may be found of interest particularly as regards Bulgaria. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi spoke first of the negotiations now being resumed with Greece but it will be more convenient to reserve treatment of this question for a subsequent occasion.

2. In reply to a question whether after the completion of the negotiations with Greece his Excellency proposed to open conversations with other countries and particularly with Yugoslavia and Roumania, with a view to the conclusion of special pacts, Dr. Tewfik Rushdi recalled that he had on the occasion when he inaugurated the policy of individual pacts openly declared that Turkey was ready to conclude such pacts with all States and that she had already concluded pacts of non-aggression, of neutrality and of arbitration or other special agreements with Soviet Russia, Persia, Afghanistan, Syria and Italy. His Excellency considered it indispensable that before the conclusion of such pacts any litigious or pending questions should be settled, as it would be undesirable that such questions should come under discussion in the interval of the signature of a pact. The only countries with whom Turkey still had open questions were France (the Syrian frontier), Greece (the exchange of populations and the liquidation of their properties) and Yugoslavia (the property of Moslems expatriated from this country). The last named question Dr. Tewfik Rushdi considered might easily form the subject of an agreement with Yugoslavia. When negotiations with these states had been concluded Turkey would have consolidated her relations with the whole world.

3. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi's interlocutor then asked him whether he considered that peace was adequately safeguarded at the present time. In the course of his reply to this question his Excellency declared that their mutual relations all nations should be based on a footing of equality and should treat with one another as equal with equal. Such a peace of justice would be lasting. Another type of peace, a peace of compromise, was not ideal. The equilibrium existing at a given moment could be shattered or shaken and in the very constitution of the equilibrium there was a potential threat to peace which was the system of alliances.

4. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi was then asked which he considered was more likely to contribute to the maintenance of peace in the Balkans—a system of individual pacts or a so-called Balkan Locarno. His Excellency replied that he could not conceive the application to the Balkans of a general pact such as was envisaged under the title of a Balkan Locarno. Who would be the parties to such an agreement, and who would be the guarantor for its strict observance? The whole idea appeared chimerical. The policies of the Balkan States, the conception which each entertained of its relations with the others, and above all, the mentality of the Balkan peoples, a mentality perhaps peculiar to the Balkans, all militated against the conclusion of such a treaty.

5. Finally, Dr. Tewfik Rushdi gave his views on the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. Apart from routine matters there was, his Excellency said, no question at issue between the two countries. Turkey had always looked on Bulgaria with a very friendly eye. She had followed with real sympathy the efforts of the Bulgarian people to pursue their development in the face of the difficulties which had arisen out of the war. She was always ready to give concrete scope to this Turco-Bulgarian friendship in a more precisely worded pact. This pact should, in his Excellency's view, be a pact of arbitration, of non-aggression and of neutrality, and would complete the chain of the two treaties already concluded between Bulgaria and Turkey, viz. the treaty of friendship signed on the 18th October 1925 and the treaty of commerce signed at Angora on the 12th February 1928. It was in no way different from those which Turkey had already concluded and could only redound to the advantage of the two signatories, while in no way injuring the interest of other peoples.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

P.S. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Sofia.
W. S. E.

E 5744/43/44 No. 42

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain. — *(Received December 3.)*

(No. 846.)
Sir, *Rome, November 27, 1928.*

I SOUNDED the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs this afternoon with regard to his forthcoming visit to Angora. Signor Grandi assured me that the visit was purely one of courtesy. When Rushdi Bey had come to Venice this summer he had insisted that, as Signor Mussolini could not leave Italy, the visit should be repaid by Signor Grandi and a promise to this effect was given. The Italian Government had rather hoped that the matter had been forgotten, but recently a telegram had been received from the Turkish Government reminding him of the promise. He had asked that the visit should be considered as private, but this the Turkish Government had refused, and it was evident that they would make as much capital out of it as possible. But the Italian Government were anxious not to wound Greek susceptibilities. Signor Grandi would therefore also call at Athens. What he would like to do would be to combine the two visits and to go to Athens after Angora, but he was not sure how the Greek Government would take this proposal. If they agreed, Signor Grandi would proceed to Angora at the beginning of January, and call at Athens on his way home. Should, however, M. Venizelos object to this proposal, Signor Grandi would leave for Angora in the middle of December, return here and then pay a visit to Athens some time in January.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople and His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have &c.
R. GRAHAM.

[E 5868 53 44] No. 46.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 472.)

Sir,

Athens, November 27, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 406 of the 24th October on the subject of Graeco-Turkish relations, I have the honour to inform you that the somewhat unexpected incidents of the last few days have formed the subject of serious and not very restful comment in the Greek press, and I fear it must be recognised that the prospect of early settlement of outstanding difficulties has suffered an appreciable setback. I invited the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs in the course of an interview I had with him last Thursday the 26th instant to state that this fresh and quite unanticipated attack from the Turkish side was causing anxiety to the Greek Government, who were puzzled to know what motive lay behind it.

2. His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will no doubt have informed you that, on the 19th instant, Greek subjects in Adrianople were [illegible] the Mixed Exchange Commission decided to undertake in Western Thrace [illegible] to exchange populations, this [illegible] Turkish delegation [illegible] Mr. [illegible] accompanied by [illegible] Greek [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Greek [illegible] Turkish [illegible] Greek [illegible] Turkish [illegible] Greek [illegible] Turkish

E 5860 560 44 No. 45

Mr Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received December 10)

(No. 17)

Sir, *Lagora November 30 1928*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch I forwarded to the Consul at Erzerum.

2. Mr. Wood presents a picture of general poverty and desolation which is calculated to damp the advance of capital, however favourable the terms. Whether this is a true picture or not, it is certainly a land of contrasts. At Erzerum, nestling on the Erzerum plateau at a height of 6,000 feet, in the centre of a fertile agricultural district, with a climate which must be cold in winter, but which in the summer is delightful, there has been established by the Turkish Government a Vocational School, which, if not a success, is certainly not a failure. The Director, Mr. Wood, is a retired Turkish officer, who has been in charge of the School since its foundation. He is assisted by a staff of Turkish masters, and the School is attended by 200 boys, who are taught carpentry, smithy work, and the like. The boys are drawn from the surrounding villages, and are boarded and lodged in the School. The School is run on military lines, and the boys are under discipline. On the occasion of my visit to Erzerum, which was under discussion on the Thursday of the week before last, I had the honour to take return and to inspect the School. I found it in excellent order.

3. But there are other aspects of this question which must be taken into consideration before any step is taken to close the Vocational School. The Turkish Government, as I pointed out in my despatch No. 45 of the 30th May, 1927, is anxious to establish a Vocational School in every Vilayet. The Director of the School at Erzerum is a Turkish officer of the old school, who has been in charge of the School since its foundation. He is assisted by a staff of Turkish masters, and the School is attended by 200 boys, who are taught carpentry, smithy work, and the like. The boys are drawn from the surrounding villages, and are boarded and lodged in the School. The School is run on military lines, and the boys are under discipline. On the occasion of my visit to Erzerum, which was under discussion on the Thursday of the week before last, I had the honour to take return and to inspect the School. I found it in excellent order.

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5. There is another factor which may or may not weigh with the Central Government when [illegible] development is made consideration. I refer to the proximity of Erzerum to the Russian frontier. However cordial Russo-Turkish relations may be to-day, I have my doubts as to whether the Turkish Government would be wise to spend money on the creation of a military centre so near to the neighbour's [illegible] as Erzerum has [illegible]. If so, that is another fact which perhaps should be borne in mind in connexion with the picture which shows that [illegible] Erzerum [illegible] Vocational School.

6. On the *Terjuman* [illegible] which I am not [illegible] to speak. One [illegible] of the [illegible] recently illegal deposition of a [illegible] which illustrates the [illegible] seem to be brought to a head, but I [illegible] considerable [illegible] by making [illegible]. All the same I do not see why the Kemalist Government should not [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] across they use them as a [illegible] [illegible].

7. I now [illegible] the *Terjuman* [illegible] of the Popular party. This [illegible] garrison [illegible] popular with [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the most part higher up the hillside. It is scarcely necessary to say that no proper sanitary system exists or is in contemplation, nor is the repair of the water-pipes undertaken. In these two respects it lost United Turkey in Trebizond almost all trust in the Ittihad.

9. As the matter of advice will be dealt with under heads 3 and 4 of the despatch under reference, I will only add that the new [illegible] which is being constructed at present will be of some [illegible] but that the special interests which stand to gain by the [illegible] are the Greek [illegible] and the Armenian [illegible] of the Russian [illegible] Ottoman [illegible] Russian [illegible] Russian [illegible] Russian

the correctness of his attitude Tewfik Rushdi Bey sent round to the missions concerned at midnight copies of the motions and of his answer

3 The general tone of most of the speakers was one of sober recognition of the need for settlement and after a debate of seven hours duration the Assembly approved the agreement by a large majority It added two conditions, however, providing that the interests of the State must be preserved (*a*) in the division of certain outstanding portions of the Imperial indemnity and of the reserve fund (*b*) in connexion with the withdrawal of Ottoman notes issued in and after 1914

4 Meanwhile the Turkish Ministry at Berne with whom has been the Government's legal adviser in this question, sent various inquiries to Berne and told me that in his private opinion these observations would not in any way affect the validity of the agreement as between the two Powers and their subjects The Minister of Finance expressed himself to the same effect to members of the French Embassy The press of the following day explained in a semi official statement that the excess over the previously estimated 900 000 pieces of gold rates presented for exchange over the Debt Administration's estimate of the total of that issue is due to the fact that the Debt has been divided between the Ottoman Public Debt and the Turkish Republic

I have &c
W S EDMONDS

E 5955 18 44 Notes

Railways in Asia Minor Extension Schemes Report of Director 17)

(No 29)

Sir, *Angora December* 10 1925

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have taken steps to keep your Excellency informed of the progress of the negotiations between the Turkish Government and the Ottoman Public Debt Administration with regard to the proposed extension of the railway system in Asia Minor and to the grant to the latter of the necessary concessions for the construction of the new lines

2 For the moment the negotiations are confined to the question of the Debt's participation in the profits of the railways and to the amount of the annuity to be paid to the Debt in lieu of the Ottoman Government's liability for the interest on the Ottoman Railway bonds which the Turkish Government have now definitely undertaken to service The Debt Administration have also been consulted as to the extent to which the Turkish Government should be allowed to deduct from the gross receipts of the railways the cost of the maintenance and working of the lines already in existence before any payment is made to the Debt in respect of the profits

I have &c
W S EDMONDS

Enclosure in No 29

Major Heywood to Sir G Clerk

(No 7)

Sir, *British Embassy in Turkey, November 23* 1925

I HAVE the honour to refer to the development of the railway system of Turkey in Asia

2 Large sums have been provided by the Turkish Government for the construction of new railways It is apparent that some of these lines are not likely to be economically constructed by sections but that the whole should be set out and taken in hand

3 From the military point of view Turkey requires good communications both from west to east and from north to south It may be said that the railway system in the north of Turkey is adequate for the present and that improvements can be done without any great urgency

4 The railway system in the extreme east and south-east of Turkey is not adequate for the concentration of troops and the conduct of operations on the Persian and Syrian frontiers and the provision of adequate railway communications in these districts is a matter of great importance

5 Major Edmonds has explained to me the western front Since the approximate settlement of the Mosul question little immediate fear of attack by either of these countries International relations in the Balkans however, are not fixed for their stability and it is undoubtedly important for Turkey to be able to concentrate her armed forces rapidly on the west

6 A Bolshevik aggression is unlikely in the absence of trouble in the west Peaceful penetration is a more subtle weapon and one which can be used to better effect by Soviet Russia

7 Discarding as very lavish and expensive projects of construction it is not possible to prepare railways for the present on the Iraq frontier without first satisfying the needs of concentration on the Syrian frontier Railways towards the Persian frontier would be too expensive to construct at present

8 Broadly speaking the present military railway communications of Turkey (see Diagram) consist of

(*a*) One single line Constantinople to Nisibin through Syrian territory (short portion of this line only owned by the Ottoman Government Aleppo to Tripoli and Homs to Rayak)
(*b*) Adana to Mersina and thence to Pozanti and Eregli
(*c*) Afium Karahissar to Angora and Kaisarie
(*d*) Derindje to Angora Railway

The system is to be extended by the construction of (*a*) a railway from Eregli to Ereghli on the Bagdad line (*b*) a railway from Sivas to Erzerum (*c*) the Samsun to Sivas line (*d*) the Angora to Kaisarie line (*e*) the Afium Karahissar to Dinair line (*f*) the Angora to Ismid line

Of these only (*a*) is of great importance for

9 Reconstruction of the new lines will not be undertaken by the country without supplementary capital Proposals for the construction of the Eregli to Ereghli line and the Angora to Ismid line have been put forward by the Ottoman Administration of the Railways system and the latter will be carried out direct by the Government Engineering Department of the Anatolian Railway

10 It is also stated that the Afium Karahissar to Dinair line and the Angora to Kaisarie line are to be constructed by the Anatolian Railway Company

11 I enclose for your information a list of the principal officers of the Anatolian Railway Company

12 I have &c
H F HEYWOOD

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Enclosure 2 in No. 51

Diagram showing Development of Railway System of Turkey in Asia

[E 5957/91/44] No. 52

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received December 17*)

(No. 533.)

Sir, *Angora, December 11, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the negotiations regarding the Anatolian Railway, which were last referred to by Mr. Hoare in his despatch No. 630 of the 20th December 1927, have been continued intermittently during the last few weeks by the Turkish Government and Messrs. Weigelt, Messner, Jacobi and Gunther. These negotiations have at last come to a successful conclusion, and an agreement was finally signed last night.

2. According to the outline of the settlement given me by Dr. Weigelt the Turkish Government undertakes to pay in Swiss francs and on a general 50 per cent. basis the interest on the debentures and shares of the Anatolian Railway Company, the subsidiary Haidar Pasha Port Company and Adana-Mersina Railway Company, arrears being repaid without interest in twenty-five annuities as from 1933.

3. In return the Turkish Government acquires the whole complex of the line and all the property belonging to it. At the same time the Government obtains for what they may be worth the rights which the Haidar Pasha Port Company possesses in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, a transaction which the Turkish Government may more easily make to take use of at its present negotiations over the Syrian frontier.

4. Dr. Weigelt states that the total sum payable by Turkey is 150 million Swiss francs, that the annuities are 15 million Swiss francs, which will be paid for the next ten years, that the annuity will then drop to 6½ million Swiss francs and thereafter will gradually decrease by redemption.

5. Following as it does closely upon the ratification of the Public Debt Agreement, this settlement seems to be a further important step towards the financial reconstruction of this country. No doubt it will be approved by the Assembly and ratified in due course.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS

[E 5960/255/44] No. 53

Mr. Dodd to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received December 17*)

(No. 354.)

Sir, *Sofia, December 11, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 160 of the 7th June last, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a despatch from the British vice-consul at Varna regarding the emigration of Turks from Bulgaria.

2. It is evident from Mr. Baker's despatch that these Turks are Bulgarian subjects, not Turkish nationals, as the secretary of the Turkish Legation stated and was reported by me in paragraph 6 of my despatch under reference.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have &c.
CHARLES DODD

Enclosure in No

Vice Consul Baker to Mr Dodd

(No 29)

Sir, *Varna, November 7, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to report that during the present year an exceptionally large exodus from Bulgaria of the Turkish village population has been noted. The following are the numbers of Turkish families emigrating through the port of Varna from the Varna, Shumla, Razgrad and Rustchouk districts during 1928:

	Families
January and February	50
March, April, May	500
June, July, August	500
September, October, November	980

Almost every steamer leaving Varna for Turkish ports is crowded with Turkish emigrants. Of the fact that a general exodus of the Turks was taking place first came to my notice through trade reports from the districts largely populated by Turks. Certain classes of piece goods exclusively used by the Turks are now no longer ordered, and Bulgarian business men make no secret of the fact that this is due to the flight of population from Turkish to Bulgarian villages.

There are three factors contributing to cause this emigration:

1. The activities of the Bulgarian Political Society "Bulgarska Narodna Zastita", pursuing the Bulgarian policy to terrorise the Turkish family to such an extent that parents, unable to protect their daughters against the lust of Bulgarian officials, Turkish militiamen and gendarmes, have no choice but to flee the country. The acts of oppression are many, ranging from the abduction of girls to the confiscation of property, such as the refusal to grant building permits, the withholding of water supplies, &c., and in two cases which have come to my notice, the murder of Turkish villagers.
2. The disappointment of the Bulgarian population at the failure of the Turks to evacuate the Bulgarian population, and the Turkish hope to recover their property and stock left behind in Bulgaria.
3. The belief that the Turkish Government will look after their economic welfare in the event of their return to Turkey.

The Bulgarian Government does not appear to take any active part in this attempt to oppress the Bulgarian Moslem population, but the Turkish authorities in the districts mentioned above refuse to protect the Turks, and by their attitude further help to speed the emigrants. It is generally stated that Bulgarian will be spoken and that all petitions or complaints will be written in Bulgarian. When passports are requested the official in charge demands excessive fees, which are paid by the departing Turks for reasons which do not appear on the passport itself.

I am told that the Turkish Consul-General in Sofia has been instructed to refuse passports to Turks who have not been in Bulgaria for a period of at least three years.

Although Bulgaria is gradually losing her Moslem population, the Turks, who form one of the chief supporters of the established order, as at elections the Turks *en bloc* vote for the Government of the day.

I have &c.

F. P. BAKER

E 6038/28/44 No. 54

Mr. Bradshaw to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received December 20*)

(No. 64 Express)

(Telegraphic) *Constantinople, December 20, 1928.*

H.M. Consul reports that it is rumoured in the world the states is about to start that fresh slaughter on a large scale has been discovered against the Ghazi and the present Government. Over 1,000 arrests have in all states been effected at Brussa and Constantinople. The persons most in danger Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha are of the opposite party. In spite of this trials are to be re-established forthwith.

Repeated to Angora, No. 52.

E 6083/18/44 No. 55

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received December 24*)

(No. 538)

Sir, *Angora, December 15, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the negotiations between the Ford Car Company and the Turkish Government in connexion with the establishment of an assembling factory to be erected in a free zone within the limits of the port of Constantinople which were reported to the Department of Overseas Trade by the commercial secretary to this Embassy in his despatch No. 1 "Special Series" have now been brought to a successful issue. A convention has been drawn up and signed which will, it is expected, be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval in the near future.

2. According to the local press the principal provisions of the agreement are the following:

(*a*) The site of the factory will be treated as a free zone. It is intended to erect a suitable harbour for ships that may call in connexion with this zone.

(*b*) All machinery and plant together with the constituent parts of motor cars, tractors and engines will be passed free. The factory will be exempt from the payment of stamp duties and all the State taxes and duties on buildings in the free zone.

(*c*) Motor cars, tractors and engines on their arrival introduced into Turkey from the free zone will pay the customs duties and other taxes to which they are legally subject.

(*d*) The factory situated within the free zone will not be required to keep its books in Turkish and will be exempt from the necessity of registering with the Turkish Chamber of Commerce and Industry and of becoming a member of that institution.

(*e*) Vehicles manufactured in the free zone may be sold in the free zone but no sales agents in Turkey shall be set up by the Company and all sales must be made as hitherto through the Ford depots and agencies in the country.

(*f*) The Turkish Government will grant bounties of 50 dollars on every motor car imported into the country from the free zone.

(*g*) The zone will be situated at Ayos Stefanos at present occupied by the Near East Relief Organization which will hand over to the Ford Company the depots situated thereon.

(*h*) Turkish coal will be supplied to the factory provided that it is available in sufficient quantity that its exclusive use presents no technical difficulty and that its price is not greater than that of foreign coal.

(*i*) The concession will have a duration of twenty-five years.

(*j*) The Ford Company undertakes to start active operations nine months after taking over the site of the free zone.

3. The United States Chargé d'Affaires further informed me that the Company proposed to employ 80 per cent. of Turkish labour from the start and hoped to increase the proportion before long to 90 per cent. The daily output of cars would, he estimated, begin at fifty and within a year the figure of 150. Messrs. Ford would be added transfer to Constantinople their present Trieste installation, and Constantinople would become the distributing centre for Italy and Russia as well as the Near East. It is, I think, noteworthy that a firm of the importance of Messrs. Ford should have immediately selected Constantinople for this purpose. It has always been contended that Constantinople by virtue of its geographical position, would be the most suitable entrepôt and storage centre for an area including Black Sea as well as Mediterranean importations, and Messrs. Ford who have been making exhaustive enquiries for several months past with a view to establishing a distributing centre, have in deciding upon Constantinople in preference to the Piraeus or Varna, justified this view. After all Constantinople's international standing and extensive resources make it established as if at whatever centre made the best offer was naturally in a position to settle more satisfactorily [illegible] with the Turkish Government than a smaller undertaking could hope to be. It remains to see how far Messrs. Ford's example will carry other firms to their wake and lead to a real revival of the port of Constantinople. In any case while the [illegible] since 1922 has been for business to have Constantinople for the Piraeus this is a very striking instance of business

preferring Constantinople to the Piraeus or elsewhere. If the Turkish Government is now alive to the importance of Constantinople as a source of international wealth, this concession may mark the turn of the tide of the city's fortune.

4. In conclusion I would add that there has been a long controversy between the Constantinople Quay Company and the Turkish Government in regard to the occupation and expropriation of the Top-hane site by the Seyri Sefain Steamship Administration. The latter by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce. The Quay Company has maintained that the utilisation of landed stores within the limits of the port of Constantinople by a foreign institution, such as a contravention of its concession. But the commercial secretary learnt some months ago that, although the transference of the Galata site to the Levant Company was regarded in principle as infringing upon its rights, the Quay Company would not be in practice unwilling to come to a working arrangement with the Administration.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

E 6077 3269 65 No. 1

Mr. Edmonds (Sir Austen Chamberlain) (*Received December 24*)

(No. 340)
Sir, *Baghdad, December 15, 1925.*

I HAVE the honour to offer the following observations on the secret despatch of the 20th ultimo from the High Commissioner for Iraq to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which Sir H. Dobbs has seen good enough to send a copy to this Embassy.

2. So far as concerns the relations of Iraq with Russia, it may be said with some confidence that Russian influence in Turkey has been declining slowly but steadily since the settlement of the Mosul question in the autumn of 1926. The Turkish Government is well aware of the fact that the Communist system in Russia, as has been reported by this Embassy from time to time, has given no sign of consumption. Turkey, moreover, employs the police and the law courts to keep in check such Communist propaganda as there is. What it does not immediately think from the Soviets, it believes they regret. It dislikes their ideology and likely to date. It much prefers the prospect of a possibility of rapprochement with Russia, which it thinks would attract the foreign capitalists of Imperial Russia.

3. While therefore its protestations of friendship for Russia are to be discounted heavily, the Angora Government has not the intention of breaking with Soviet Russia. On the contrary, it seeks to maintain correct relations with the country, and it realises that this is unlikely to be brought about in accordance with the Western Powers. Somewhat Kemalist Bolshevism continues to flourish in the East.

4. No doubt minutes from Moscow will have considerable weight in Angora, but it would seem to be unwise to attribute the relations between the two Governments at present to any sort of Turco-Iraqui pact of friendship and mutual benefit. Such a pact, if it could be viewed from Ankara as advantageous, would appear to be rather an encouraging Turkish move to enlarge still further that of Russian influence. It is a step in this direction to establish somewhat closer relations with Iraq. A step leading towards the consolidation of Russia's neighbours, either internally or in their mutual relations, should proportionally contribute towards weakening the power of Russia. For intrigue not to germinate in this domain.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Baghdad.

I have &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

L 273/273/405 No. 2

Notes on Armenian History

Introduction

THE world had been familiar with an Armenian question for nearly fifty years when the Great War began in 1914. The war and the upheavals that followed provided a nation so ruthless and unscrupulous that, as pertains to the question, ceased to exist when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July 1923. All that remained then was the humanitarian problem of how the dispersed survivors of the Armenian race could be assisted and settled for the future.

The period between 1914 and 1923 saw in fact the greatest tragedy both racially and nationally of Armenian history. It saw the massacre and deportation of Ottoman Armenians on the greatest scale. It saw the rise and support of exiles in the war and its aftermath, and the peace conference at which Armenia was signatory as one of the victorious Allied and Associated Powers. It saw the [illegible] independent and free Armenian State [illegible] grow. Like a comet shaping its course [illegible] that has ever been. Hurtful prediction [illegible] which [illegible] saw the near annihilation of the Armenian people [illegible] teached and [illegible] sent into history.

These were [illegible] remarkable [illegible] with [illegible] contrast with the sovereign [illegible] Allied [illegible] by the theory of equal [illegible] the great Powers, the claims of a small ally. And not a treaty [illegible] different [illegible] that between

[illegible] Armenia and the Treaty of Sèvres, 1920

It was shown that the [illegible] 1914 [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Moslem peoples to the fact that Armenians professed Christianity was to add religious hatred to the racial hatred with which Armenian and Moslem regarded each other.

In the 3rd century A.D. the Persian Sassanids and the Eastern Roman Emperors solved their Armenian question by dividing the plateau between themselves. Here was an early illustration of the coherent and extreme danger in which Armenia lay whenever two great Powers, inevitably rivals, faced each other across her territory. Recurring partitionment and invaded sovereignty early became the destiny of the Armenian land.

An opportunity of fleeting independence was asserted in various parts of Armenian territory whenever the creation of strategic exigencies, particularly that which was Armenia's special heritage, powerfully attracted the interest of a distant and powerful Armenian free from the passes of the plateau prevented easy north and south communication, and there were scant fertile regions great enough in area to support populations where a population of several millions might have established itself as a nation. The whole race and permanently attracted the more distant rulers to the plateau to control government. In the absence of such a powerful overlordship the Armenian tendency always was towards the formation of petty principalities dominated by

[illegible]

In the [illegible] the Arsacids [illegible] ruling [illegible] dynasty [illegible] the Armenian territory occupied most of the Armenian plateau and a portion of the Armenian population [illegible] Armenia [illegible] Armenia [illegible] Armenia

Nationalist organisations had precipitated the outbreak. Undoubtedly the charge sometimes had a foundation of truth.

In 1895 Great Britain, France and Russia submitted a scheme of Armenian reforms to the Porte. Had coercion to enforce acceptance been possible as Russia, for one, would not proceed to extremes.

Turkish Revolution, 1908

With the Turkish revolution of 1908 better days seemed to have dawned for Ottoman Armenians. They welcomed and at first supported the revolution. The ideal of an Ottoman citizenship in which all the races of the Empire should find equality of opportunity and justice was held out to them as the aim of the "Young Turk" revolutionaries. If carried into practice it would perhaps have solved the Armenian question. But the controlling figures behind the revolutionary movement were Turkish nationalists, nothing else than an advanced Pan-Islamic State. They desired that the State should wear the Turkish name and the Turkish speech, that the non-Turkish races should adopt their culture. They were not at first successful. Europe and America do not want what they regard as barbarous Turkish culture, but the Armenians, in particular, rejected this with contempt and left the other Ottoman races to resist once free of the pressure of Ottoman nationalism. The Turkish [illegible] Armenians [illegible] Turkish [illegible] 1908 the Armenians [illegible] Turkish and Armenian [illegible] over the revolutionary struggle.

Reaction in Islam

[illegible] 1911-12 [illegible] and Italy and Turkey and the Balkan States [illegible] Ottoman [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Opposition [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

advance began in earnest, the Armenian line was overwhelmed. It was at this time that the use of Armenian troops on European fronts instead of in Caucasia had a result fatal to the hope of a Greater Armenia. These men, who would have had every interest in opposing the Turks, were dead or otherwise not available in Caucasia, when their presence might have changed the whole course of events. By the middle of May 1918, not only had the Turks recovered their territory lately occupied by Russia, but they had taken Batum and the two districts of Kars and Ardahan, claimed as part of Russian Armenia, and were preparing to advance to the Caspian. On the 26th May the Transcaucasian Federal Republic dissolved itself into the three Republics of Georgia, Erivan and Azerbaijan.

It did not suit German policy, then seeking to establish a German route through Caucasia, to the East, that Russian Armenia should fall to Turkey. In June 1918 Germany, therefore, procured that her own troops should occupy Georgia, and that Turkey should sign treaties of peace with the Republic of Georgia and the Armenian Republic of Erivan and recognise the independence of both. But under the latter treaty the Erivan Republic had to accept a Turkish occupation, and undertake to give free passage across her territory to Turkish troops proceeding to the Caspian basin.

The last stages of the Great War, therefore, saw the Armenian people reduced by massacre, losses of war, and the tremendous death rate of an enforced deportation adopted as an easy system of killing, to about two-thirds of its pre-war total. At the same time, although the independence of a small Armenian Republic had been recognised by its enemies, the whole of the Armenian plateau was overrun by Turkish troops, or was liable to occupation by them.

The Armenian Cause after the War.

At the end of October 1918 the Turks recognised defeat at the hands of the Allies, and the Armistice of Mudros came into operation on the last day of the month. The armistice provided for the occupation of Baku and Batum and the control of part of the Transcaucasian Railways by Allied forces, the evacuation of Persian and Caucasian territory by Turkish troops, and gave the Allies the right to occupy any part of the "Six Armenian Vilayets" in the event of disorders occurring therein. British troops took over Baku on the 17th November, and Batum on the 27th December, and subsequently the occupation was extended to the Georgian Republic. But neither British nor Allied troops ever occupied the Armenian Republic, nor any part of the "Six Armenian Vilayets." It has been called a disastrous oversight that Allied troops did not occupy these vilayets at a time when that might perhaps have been done without opposition. It can only be regarded as an oversight if the view be accepted that the Allies were willing, after hostilities had ceased, to undertake the tremendous commitment of a hostile occupation of the wildest and most inaccessible part of Asia Minor, in area more than a fourth of the whole, and to do so on behalf of a minority section of the population that had almost entirely disappeared.

The conclusion of the Great War relieved the Armenian Republic of Turkish pressure for a time, though conditions in Caucasia remained exceedingly disturbed. The region of the British occupation enjoyed some degree of order, but the three Republics of Georgia, Erivan and Azerbaijan, each claimed territory claimed by one or even both of its rivals, and desultory fighting between them could not always be prevented.

The future, too, of the republics was uncertain. His Majesty's Government refused to contemplate the retention of British troops in Caucasia except for the shortest possible time. With a view of creating a Caucasian barrier against Bolshevik Russia, British policy favoured the creation of a Federal Republic embracing all the Transcaucasian States; but the jealousies and animosities of the various people rendered this obvious course impracticable. For the time being, therefore, Caucasian problems had to await the decision of a Peace Conference engrossed in greater and more urgent matters.

It was, however, inevitable that the future of the Caucasian States should depend upon what happened in Russia. These little republics could not escape the influence of their geographical position in relation to Russia, an influence much intensified by the fact that the economic life of Russia was largely dependent on supplies of oil from Baku. In the absence of a unified Transcaucasia supported by some Great Power as mandatory, nothing was more certain than that, sooner or later, Russia, whether under a "White" Government or a "Red," would reassert her

authority over the quarrelling republics. But no Great Power would accept the political responsibility and financial liability inseparable from a mandate, though the United States of America and Italy, certainly, looked into the proposal. The truth was that the future of Transcaucasia, whether considered by the Peace Conference or by individual Powers, was seen to lie in the ominous shadow of Russia, and that this inescapable position strictly conditioned the problem.

General Denikin's Operations against the Bolsheviks, 1919.

At the beginning of 1919 efforts by "White" Russians to overthrow the "Red" Government of Russia introduced another distracting factor for the Transcaucasian States. General Denikin, supported by the Allied Powers, having mustered a "White" army in Ciscaucasia, expelled the Bolshevik forces from that region and prepared to advance on Moscow. He made no secret of his hostility to the Transcaucasian Republics as independent States, nor of his intention to bring them under Russian authority again; and he repeatedly encroached on the territories of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

In this situation the Armenians of the Erivan Republic never wavered in their policy of supporting Russia, caring little whether Russia were "White" or "Red." The army of the Republic counted itself part of Denikin's forces; Armenians at Baku, after the British evacuation in August 1919, supported the Bolsheviks.

All British troops were withdrawn from Caucasia by the end of August 1919, except from Batum, the evacuation of that town having been delayed until the 7th July, 1920. At this time Denikin's prospect of success was improving rapidly, and in October he was approaching Moscow with a large army. But during November and December his operations utterly failed, and by the end of April 1920 the Bolshevik Government of Russia was again in complete possession of Ciscaucasia, had landed a Bolshevik army in Baku, had established in Azerbaijan a Soviet Republic subservient to Moscow, and had thus opened a way for imposing similar Bolshevik control on the Georgian and Armenian Republics. In January 1920 the Allied Powers gave *de facto* recognition to the Armenian Republic of Erivan.

Effect of the Greek Landing in Smyrna, May 1919.

Meanwhile, events had happened in Turkey destined to exert a fatal influence on Armenian prospects. The landing of the Greeks at Smyrna in May 1919 completely changed the Turkish situation with which the Allied Powers had to deal. Until the Allies by this act committed themselves to aggrandising Greece on the mainland of Asia Minor, the Turkish people had accepted defeat as a decree of fate. After the landing at Smyrna they did so no longer. The spell fell away from them. They could see no decree of fate, nothing they could not themselves withstand, in an invasion of Greeks; they felt themselves quite competent to throw the invaders into the sea. However submissive they had been to the Allies before, they became, after May 1919, a people resolved to make every effort and endure every extremity in preserving their national heritage against Greek conquest. All unknown at the time, Allied policy in sending the Greek army to Smyrna was to result in the expulsion of the whole Greek race from Asia Minor, and, incidentally, in the final destruction of Armenian hopes for a Greater Armenia.

Encouragement of Armenian Expectations by the Allied Powers.

That, however, lay in the future, unforeseen. During 1919 Armenian hopes ran high, buoyed up by the firm expectation that the Great Allied and Associated Powers would in the end establish an enlarged and independent Armenia. The Armenian people had, it must be admitted, ample ground for their confidence. In his declaration of British war aims, made on the 5th January, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George had specifically mentioned Armenia as an area of the Ottoman Empire entitled to "recognition of separate national conditions," and had added that "it would be impossible to restore Armenian territory to its former [Ottoman] sovereignty."

President Wilson, too, in his speech of the 8th January, 1918 (three days after Mr. Lloyd George's declaration), in which he laid down his "Fourteen Points," had declared in the 12th of the "points" that ". . . . the other [non-Turkish] nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development . . . ."

He was more emphatic in his speech of the 11th February, 1918, enunciating his "Four Principles." The President had said then ". . . . national aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action . . . ." And in the last of his "Four Principles" he had declared that: "All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them. . . . ."

These utterances may not have been explicit pledges to the American people, but they went a good way in that direction, and they were confirmed and supported by the Treaty of Versailles, signed on the 28th June, 1919. In the Covenant of the League of Nations embodied in that treaty, article 22 contains the following words:—

> "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone. . . . ."

Armenians were not named, but there could be no question that the Armenian community was one of those implied.

Armenian hopes had also been encouraged by the visit to Armenia, in the latter half of 1919, of a military mission under General Harbord, sent by the American Government to examine the problems involved in a mandate for Armenia and Transcaucasia. That the report of the mission (dated the 16th October, 1919) had much to do with the American refusal even to consider a mandate for Armenia was a later development.*

The Treaty of Sèvres, August 1920.

When at last the Allied Powers came to drafting the Treaty of Peace with Turkey they did not overlook the claims of the Armenian people to favourable consideration. But the more the question of these claims was considered, the more difficult it was seen to be. A sincere desire existed to put the national existence of the Armenian ally on a firm basis; but how that was to be achieved became a problem that baffled satisfactory solution. No Power would accept the position of mandatory; nor could the Powers which declined be reproached for refusing a mandate that would have been more dangerous, costly and thankless than any other in the disposal of the Peace Conference. On the 12th March, 1920, the Supreme Council offered the mandate to the League of Nations. But the League, too, for all its goodwill, refused the task. In the end the Allied Powers could do nothing better than confide the future of a Greater Armenia to treaty obligations assumed by a Turkish Government under compulsion.

Greater Armenia and President Wilson's Arbitration.

The Armenian Republic of Erivan and those who represented the Armenians of Turkey had agreed to make common cause in prosecuting Armenian claims. In the Treaty of Sèvres, therefore, signed on the 10th August, 1920, the Powers compelled Turkey to recognise an as yet undetermined Armenia as a free and independent State. And in article 89 they laid it down that Turkey must submit to "the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulation he may prescribe as to access of Armenia to the sea." The frontiers between Armenia and Georgia and Azerbaijan were to be settled by mutual agreement.

The fact that President Wilson's arbitration was to be confined to the four vilayets named definitely excluded Lesser Armenia (or Cilicia) from whatever territory he might finally award to the enlarged Armenian State. Doubtless, it would have been unwise, in the absence of a mandatory Power, to create an Armenia of

* The report made it clear that a mandate for Armenia and Transcaucasia alone was impracticable. It showed that for the scheme to be workable it was essential that the same Power should, in addition, be mandatory for Anatolia, the Straits and Constantinople. The vast responsibilities and obvious dangers of such an increased task were seized upon by the opponents of President Wilson's policy; and whatever sympathy may have existed in the United States in favour of accepting a mandate for Armenia was speedily overwhelmed by alarmed public opinion.

unwieldy area; but a more potent reason for the exclusion was that this region had already been assigned to France, first by the Sykes–Picot Agreement of May 1916, and then, in part, by the Treaty of Sèvres. It may be remarked, however, that in order to obtain the assistance of Armenians against the Turkish Nationalist forces that invaded Cilicia in 1920, the French held out to them the prospect of Lesser Armenia being formed into an autonomous Armenian State under the protection of France.

The Government at Constantinople accepted and signed the conditions of the Treaty of Sèvres; but they were already a Government without power. Asia Minor, including the territory ear-marked for Greater Armenia, was by that time under the control of the so-called "rebel" Nationalists and a leader whose genius was not as yet recognised.

The award of President Wilson was made known in December 1920. The frontier he defined gave Armenia, roughly, the Turkish territory which had been occupied by Russian troops until they disbanded themselves under the influence of the revolution. The territory to be ceded contained an area of some 45,000 square miles, and possessed a coast-line to the Black Sea of about 200 miles, extending from Georgian territory to a point 60 miles west of Trebizond. It included the important towns of Erzerum, Erzinjan, Van, Mush and Bitlis, and, as port, the historic city of Trebizond. This substantial block of territory, added to the Republic of Erivan, made up an Armenian State with an area of nearly 60,000 square miles.

Justice to the Armenian race had been allowed to prevail against all considerations of ethnical right. The Turkish area assigned to Armenia included Turkish Lazistan with its population of Moslem Lazis; furthermore, in the whole of the area to be ceded were no Armenians, they—a minority before the war—having fled or been killed or deported. It is true that the area contained some 200,000 Christian Greeks, but even if these were added to the Armenian population of 1½ millions in the Republic of Erivan, the Armenian-Greek population of the new State would be outnumbered by Moslems. It was expected, however, that the latter would gradually leave after the territory had been ceded.

Treaty of Sèvres rendered Inoperative by Rise of Nationalist Turkey.

But President Wilson's award had only an academic interest by the time it was issued. The intention of the Allied Powers, avowed in the Treaty of Sèvres, to aggrandise Greece, create a Greater Armenia and transfer part of Cilicia to France, all at the expense of Turkey, had directed Turkish Nationalist opposition against the treaty as a whole. The Nationalists would have none of it. They stood for resisting execution of the treaty whether by Greeks, French, Armenians or the array of all the Allied Powers. In this attitude of defiance they received support from Soviet Russia, and, later, even from France and Italy.

In January 1920 Nationalist forces attacked the French in Cilicia, drove them out of the Marash district, and massacred many thousands of Armenians. From this time, the Treaty of Sèvres and the professed sympathy of the Allied Powers notwithstanding, the fortunes of Greater Armenia and the Armenian people had rapidly declined.

Bolshevik Troops Invade the Armenian Republic, May 1920.

In May 1920 Bolshevik troops from Azerbaijan invaded the Republic of Erivan, and by August had compelled the Government to sign a disadvantageous treaty with Soviet Russia. It mattered little that at the same time *de jure* independence of Armenia was recognised by the Principal Allied Powers.

Armenian Republic Overrun by Turkish Nationalist Troops, September 1920.

In September 1920 the Republic of Erivan was invaded by a Turkish Nationalist army. The purpose of this aggression, obviously undertaken with the approval of Soviet Russia, was to recover for Turkey the Province of Kars, held by the Armenian Republic since the Turks evacuated Caucasia under the terms of the Armistice of Mudros. As in Cilicia, Turkish military operations here were made the opportunity for massacring many thousands of Armenians. The conditions of peace imposed by the Turks included the cession not only of the district of Kars but of Alexandropol as well—thus reducing the area of the republic by more than half.

A Bolshevik Government Established in the Armenian Republic, December 1920.

These severe terms did not, apparently, suit the Russian Soviet Government. A Bolshevik rising was organised in Erivan; the pro-Ally Government were overthrown; a Bolshevik Government were installed on the 2nd December, 1920, and in all but name the Erivan Republic passed under the control of the Russian Soviet.

Russia Determines Terms of Peace between Turkey and the Armenian Republic, October 1921.

The republic having been placed in this position, Russia saw to it that Turkish peace terms should be modified, and in the peace between Erivan and Turkey concluded in October 1921 Alexandropol was restored to the Armenians. Russia also contrived that Turkey and the Moslem Republic of Azerbaijan should be separated by Armenian territory.

France and Nationalist Turkey conclude the Agreement of Angora, October 1921.

Expectations raised that a small autonomous Armenian province might eventually be established in Cilicia under French protection disappeared at the same time. Pressure in Cilicia and Syria by Turkish National forces involved an increasing and intolerable strain on the French people. In October 1921, therefore, France, by the Agreement of Angora, recognised the Nationalist Turkish Government, undertook to evacuate Cilicia completely, and, further, to cede to Turkey some 9,000 square miles of Northern Syria. These conditions were duly executed.

The Armenian Republic Incorporated in the Russian Union of Soviet Republics, December 1922.

Early in March 1921 Georgia, also, was forced to become a Soviet republic. A year later—in March 1922—the Russian Bolshevik Government carried their Transcaucasian plans a step further by compelling the three Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Erivan to federate as the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The final step was taken on the 30th December, 1922, when the Transcaucasian Federal Republic was incorporated in the Russian Union of Soviet Republics.

Armenian Interests in the Treaty of Lausanne, July 1923.

Perhaps the most significant proof of how completely the hopes of the Armenian people for a Greater Armenia, or even for such a poor substitute as an "Armenian National Home," were dashed is afforded by the Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Turkey, signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923.

In this treaty the words "Armenia" and "Armenians" do not even occur. Armenians as non-Moslems, however, are included in the provisions of the treaty relating to minority and non-Moslem races.

As a matter of interest it should be noted that during the discussions at Lausanne repeated efforts were made by representatives of the Allies to persuade the Turks to create an Armenian National Home in Turkish territory, but that the suggestion was vehemently opposed by the Turkish delegation and came to nothing.

During the four years and two months between the Armistice of Mudros of the 30th October, 1918, and the incorporation of Transcaucasia in the Russian Union of Soviet Republics in December, 1922, the hopes of the Armenian people and the bright prospect of a Greater Armenia raised by the collapse of Russia and the defeat of Turkey, had therefore passed from high promise to definite extinction.

That this failure of Allied policy in regard to Armenia was closely bound up with the Greek failure in Asia Minor cannot well be denied. But it is scarcely to be supposed that, had the Greeks overthrown the Turkish Nationalists and reached Angora in September 1921, Greater Armenia, even if it had come into being, would have escaped ultimate domination and annexation by Russia. Geographical position and the whole history of the Armenian plateau oppose the conjecture that in the presence of an adjoining Great Power an Armenia of the 20th century, unsupported by another Great Power, would have long remained independent.

W. J. CHILDS.

Foreign Office, December 28, 1923.

[E 6167/43/44] No. 58.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 548.)

Sir, *Angora, December* 21, 1928.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 504 of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to report that Signor Grandi, accompanied by his wife, arrived here on the 18th instant after spending a day at Constantinople. He met with a very warm official welcome. He was received by the Ghazi and the Prime Minister. The latter entertained him at luncheon. The Minister for Foreign Affairs gave in his honour a big dinner at the new hotel and afterwards a ball, to which the Diplomatic Corps was invited. The next night much the same dinner and ball were given in the same place by the Italian Ambassador. At the first of these dinners formal speeches were exchanged. Tewfik Rushdi Bey spoke of the two countries' mutual policy as being based on a common interest in peace and consolidation and on mutual confidence. He referred to Signor Grandi as having inspired that policy and carried it out. In reply, Signor Grandi struck a note which could not fail to please when he said that Italy could understand Turkey because both countries had had the same political experience in recent years. Each had made sacrifices for independence. Each had, in the time of crisis, found a great leader with a firm hand and an iron will.

2. The press has for some time past been indulging in laudatory remarks about Signor Mussolini, Fascism, Italian institutions in general and Italian policy. It has now welcomed Signor Grandi in cordial terms and has regarded his visit as a noteworthy mark of the close understanding which now exists between the two countries. The semi-official "Milliet" declares that, although certain countries may affect to think otherwise, Italo-Turkish friendship can but make for peace in the Mediterranean.

3. It has been suggested that Signor Grandi's real purpose was to discuss Turco-Greek or even Turco-Albanian relations. These subjects may have been touched on, but there seems to be no reason to think that Signor Grandi's primary purpose was more than to return the visit which Tewfik Rushdi Bey paid to Italy earlier in this year. Italo-Turkish relations have—on the surface, at any rate—changed completely since the signing of the treaty. Signor Orsini-Baroni seems to have succeeded in convincing the Turks that they have nothing immediate to fear from Italy. The Turks' suspicions appear to have been replaced by a degree of confidence. This confidence is probably entertained with definite reservations, but it suits Turkish policy, particularly while there are questions pending with France and Greece, to make much of the new friendship.

4. Signor Grandi left Angora yesterday intending to return straight home and to visit Athens early in the new year. Standing bareheaded in the sleet, slush and dark at the station, he assured Tewfik Rushdi Bey that he could not find words to express his feelings.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 6168/128/44] No. 59.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 549.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 27, 1928.

PUBLIC interest has been considerably stirred during the past week by rumours of the discovery of a large scale plot against the present régime. The first information that reached this Embassy on the subject came from the "Times" correspondent. I would refer in this connexion to Mr. Trotbeck's telegram No. 61 of the 20th December from Constantinople. Since then the air has been full of rumours, but authentic information is less easy to obtain, and I have purposely refrained from cross-questioning Turkish officials on the subject.

2. Two points, however, may, I think, be stated with conviction: the first is that the Government took a serious view of the development, otherwise it would hardly have forbidden all reference to the matter in the press for the first twenty-four

hours, nor be still inspiring the press to protest so vehemently that the affair is of no importance. Secondly, the Government clearly has the situation now in hand, and the only question before it is to decide upon the punishment fit for the crime. In any case, I was informed on excellent authority that there is no question of reconstituting the independence tribunals for the purpose.

3. The full measure of censorship was withdrawn after the first day, and the press has since been full of disconnected and somewhat contradictory accounts of the story. Its chief *motif*, clearly inspired by the Government, is to minimise the seriousness of the whole affair. Thus, it denies that any persons of note, such as Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas, were implicated or that those arrested were in any relationship with the ex-Sultan's family, as early rumours had suggested; it declares that there was no connexion between the arrests at Brusa and those at Constantinople, and that the arrests at Brusa were nothing more than the natural result of an attempt to set free a Circassian bandit from the gaol; it is inclined to ignore the events at Brusa, which seem to have been the more serious, and to concentrate upon those at Constantinople, where it states that some fourteen persons are now under arrest and cross-examination on the ground of illegal reactionary activities. The persons arrested in Constantinople, it states, belong almost exclusively to a single family, the head of which is a drawing-master aged 70; the worst suspicions, however, fall upon a younger member of the family, named Kadrié Hanum, who was recently discovered to have visited Angora in possession of a revolver. But the reports that have hitherto filled the pages of the press are so incoherent as to render any intelligible account impossible.

4. As regards the events at Brusa, I have had the advantage, thanks to the courtesy of the French Embassy, of hearing the story as reported by the French consul at that city, and it is on this report that I chiefly base my belief that the affair was more serious than the Government or the press would have one believe. According to this report, military measures of a precautionary nature had been taken a month ago at Brusa, which was always something of a reactionary centre and harbouring, as it does, a prominent reactionary in the person of Nureddin Pasha, a retired general, was believed to be the headquarters of a secret anti-Government society. These measures were reinforced last week, and, with the assistance of the military authorities, over a hundred persons were arrested, including priests, soldiers, the governor of the prison and certain persons who attempted an assault upon the prison with the object of setting political prisoners free. Machine-gun posts were then placed round the prison and the town was patrolled at night. This is a very different story from that given by the Turkish press.

5. I have received no confirmation of the original report that such figures as Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas were among those first arrested, and in the absence of such confirmation I am inclined to believe the denials of the press. But whether or no these men were implicated, one thing stands out clear. Reaction is not dead in the country, and the Government still has need of the mailed fist to carry out its programme of reforms. It is inevitable that a reform of so fundamental a nature as the compulsory abolition of the Arabic characters must give rise to discontent, more especially among the religious-minded, to whom Arabic is the sacred language. Any weakness on the part of the Government would undoubtedly prompt the malcontents to assert their beliefs, and it is possible that the recent movements in Afghanistan may have suggested the occasion for the present plot. Those who hate the Government, however, lack cohesion, and most of their leaders are abroad. Consequently, Mustafa Kemal's Government seems to have as firm a hold on the country as ever.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.